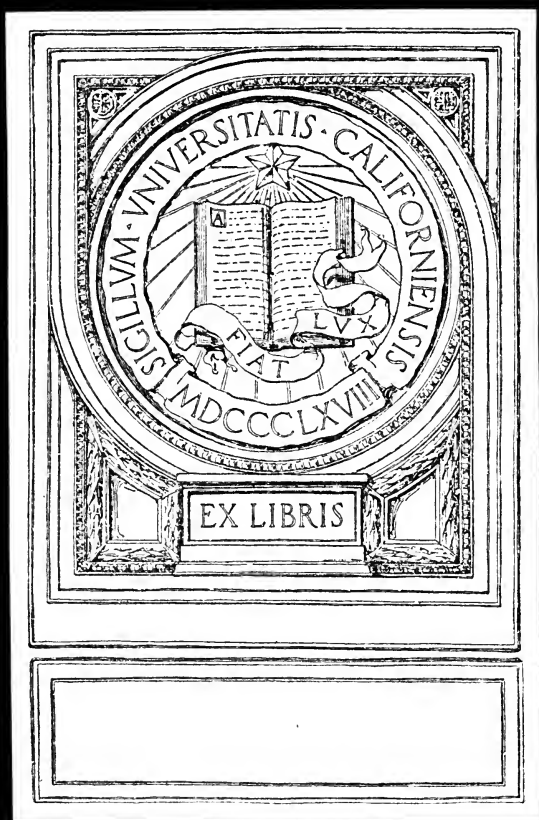


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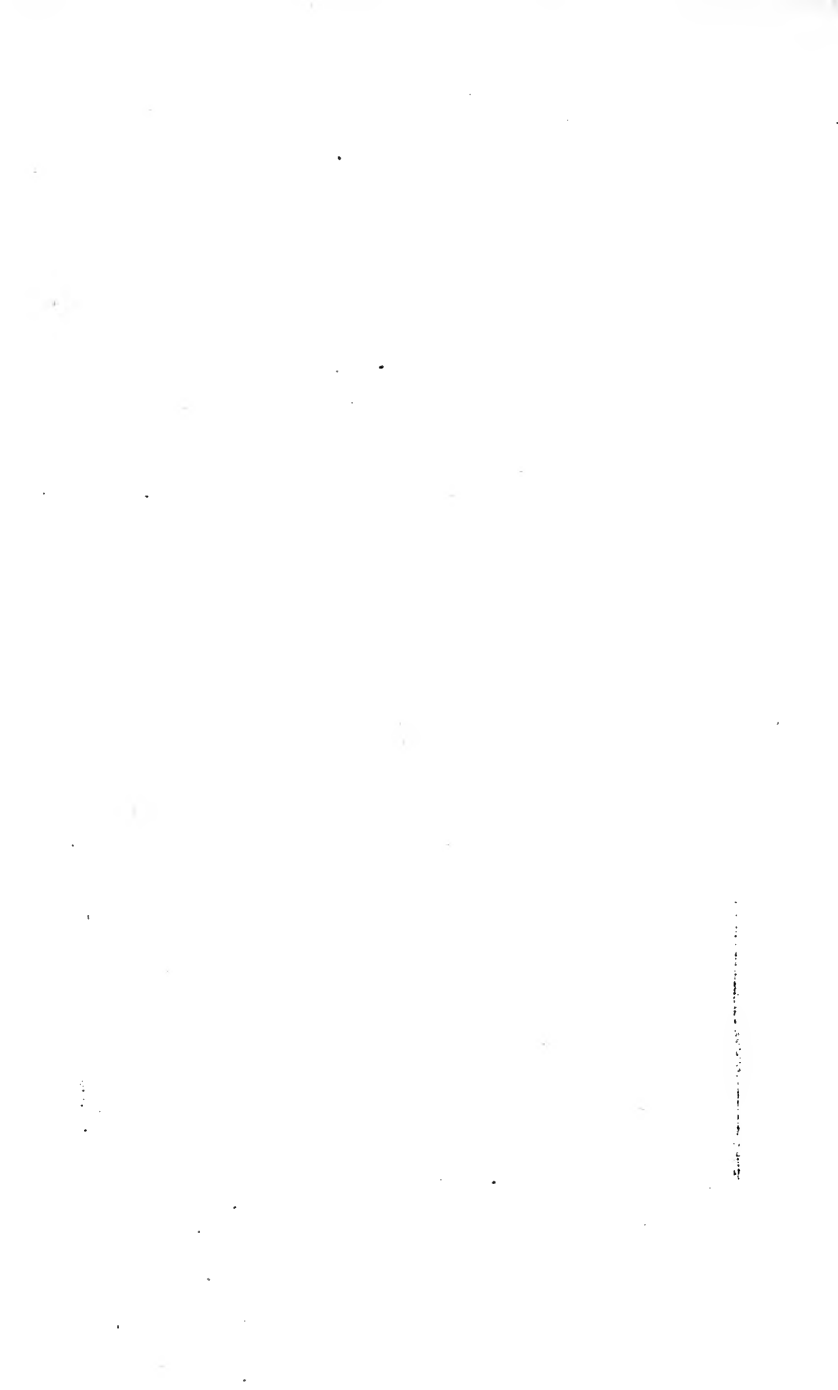
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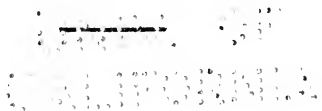
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REV. T. S. LINSKOTT, F.R.C.I.

# PROGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA IN THE CENTURY

BY

GEORGE MCCALL THEAL, D. Lit., LL.D.

*Historiographer to the Cape Government. Author of "History of South Africa," 6 Vols.; "A Short History of South Africa"—Story of the Nations Series; "South African Records," 15 Vols., in English, Dutch, and Portuguese; "Genealogical Registers of South African Families;" "Kaffir Folklore," Etc.*



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## PREFACE.

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EVERY reader naturally wishes to know with what authority the book in his or her hands, if it professes to be a history, has been written. What, it is asked, were the author's sources of information? What reason is there to believe that his material has been used in a judicious manner?

My sources of information are archives, in which I have been making researches for a quarter of a century, many hundreds of printed volumes upon South Africa in various languages, and an intimate acquaintance with the country and its people, Europeans and natives.

As to the manner in which I have used this material, of course so definite a statement cannot be made. But I can say that I belong to no political party, that I am on the most friendly terms with a large circle of individuals of English, Dutch, and Bantu nationality, and that I have no prejudice against, or desire to favour, any one of these more than another. During fourteen of the most active years of my life it was my duty to supply the head of the Native Affairs Department of the Cape Colony, in which I served as first and chief clerk, with abstracts of the contents of collections of documents on every variety of subject relating to the Bantu tribes. Such abstracts necessarily contained nothing but facts, as they were to be acted upon by the heads

of the department, and favour, prejudice, or imagination could find no place in them. Training in such a school has the advantage of making one very careful as to accuracy, but it has the disadvantage of preventing—or at least of not encouraging—a graceful style of writing. The first object is to state nothing but facts that can be proved, and the second to state them in plain language that cannot be misinterpreted. Ornamentation of sentences or paragraphs comes in nowhere.

In this volume I have made some few remarks that would have been out of place in such an abstract as I have described above, but in general the book has been prepared exactly as it would be written for the head of the government to act upon, no matter what his political views might be. It contains the indisputable truths of South African history, and each individual is left to colour those truths to suit his own inclinations, whether in favour of English, Dutch, or Bantu. As far as human power goes, it is absolutely free of partisan spirit. As a Canadian of Loyalist descent, I naturally wish to see the extension and solidification of the Empire where that can take place without wrong or injustice to others, but I have not allowed that feeling to bias my work.

Omitting numerous magazine articles, pamphlets, and school histories in the English and Dutch languages, the following list of books prepared by me will show the result of my labour in the past:—

*South Africa as it is.* King-Williamstown, 1870. Now obsolete and out of print.

*Compendium of South African History and Geography.* Two volumes. Lovedale Missionary Institution, third edition in 1877. Now obsolete and out of print.



*Abstract of the Debates and Resolutions of the Council of Policy at the Cape from 1651 to 1687.* Capetown, 1881. Issued by the Cape government.

*Kaffir Folklore: a Selection from the Traditional Tales current among the People living on the Eastern Border of the Cape Colony, with copious Explanatory Notes.* London, second edition in 1886.

*Geslacht Register der Oude Kaapsche Familien.* A complete genealogical register down to 1800 of every European family that settled in the Cape Colony before that date. The materials for this work were collected by my late friend, Mr Christoffel Coetzee de Villiers, but were unarranged at the time of his death. They were put in order by me—assisted by Mr. W. J. Vlok—and published in three large crown quarto volumes at Capetown for the Cape government in 1892 and 1893.

*Chronicles of Cape Commanders.* Capetown, 1882. The second edition was issued in London a few years later, under the title of *History of South Africa from 1486 to 1691*. The third edition, revised and enlarged, forms part of my *History of South Africa under the Administration of the Dutch East India Company (1652 to 1795)*, two large volumes, London, 1897.

*History of South Africa from 1691 to 1795.* The second edition, revised and enlarged, now forms part of *History of South Africa under the Administration of the Dutch East India Company*.

*History of South Africa from 1795 to 1834.* London, 1891.

*History of the Boers in South Africa.* The second edition of this volume is now included in *History of South Africa from 1834 to 1854*. London, 1893.

*History of the Republics and Native Territories*

*in South Africa from 1854 to 1872.* London, 1889.

*The Portuguese in South Africa, with a Description of the Native Races between the River Zambesi and the Cape of Good Hope during the Sixteenth Century.* London, 1896. The second edition is now being prepared.

The six large octavo volumes last mentioned contain a series of maps and a complete bibliography of works upon the country issued before 1872. They form the only detailed history of South Africa in existence.

*South Africa.* In the Story of the Nations Series. Fifth edition, London, 1899. An illustrated volume, covering a wider field than the book in the reader's hands, and entering more fully into early events, though not so deeply into the progress of the nineteenth century, as the object of the two series is different.

*Geschiedenis van Zuid Afrika.* A large illustrated volume in the Dutch language, issued for the Cape government. The Hague, 1897.

The following volumes of records have been compiled by me for the Cape government:

*Basutoland Records.* Three large royal octavo volumes, published in Capetown, and containing maps and summaries, in addition to original documents of many kinds.

*Records of the Cape Colony,* copied from the Manuscript Documents in the Public Record Office, London. Six large octavo volumes, covering the period from 1793 to 1809, have been published, and the work is still in progress.

*Records of South-Eastern Africa,* collected in various Libraries and Archive Departments in

Europe. Nearly all of these are in the Portuguese language, and are printed exactly as they were written, with English translations added. Six large octavo volumes have been published in London, and the work is still in progress.

Several smaller volumes and a large number of ordinary bluebooks might be mentioned, but it is unnecessary to lengthen this list.

GEO. M. THEAL.

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# PROGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA IN THE CENTURY.

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### STATE OF THE COUNTRY IN 1800.

ONE hundred years ago the greater part of Africa south of the Zambesi was an unknown land to Europeans. The Dutch had a thinly-populated settlement between the Atlantic Ocean and the Fish River, the Indian Ocean and the watershed from which the feeders of the Orange flow northward; the Portuguese had a few military posts on the eastern coast and along the Zambesi; all the remainder was in undisputed possession of barbarians and savages, who had no communication whatever with the outside world. On maps, indeed, names of places were to be found, but they were all fictitious, and disappeared with later exploration.

If the value of its commerce be taken as a test of the condition of a country, South Africa then occupied a very low place. Not reckoning the provisions supplied to vessels that called, one hundred thousand dollars would have been more than sufficient to purchase all the articles yearly exported through Table Bay, one hundred thousand more would have paid for all the gold, ivory, and ambergris collected at

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Tete, Sena, Sofala, Inhambane, and Lourenço Marques. Add another hundred thousand for slaves shipped from the eastern ports, and the total is reached, three hundred thousand dollars or sixty-two thousand five hundred pounds British sterling money. Whales and seals were taken in great numbers on the coasts, but this industry was almost entirely in the hands of strangers, and would have been carried on in the same way and to the same extent if the country had been without inhabitants. The value of the oil and skins is therefore not included in the estimates here given.

Of places of Christian worship there were then less than a dozen. They were seven Dutch Reformed, in Capetown, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Malmesbury, Tulbagh, Swellendam, and Graaff-Reinet, one Lutheran, in Capetown, one Moravian, at Genadendal, and two Roman Catholic, at Sena and Tete. The Moravian Mission had only been established seven years, and had but one station. The London Missionary Society was just beginning to send its agents to South Africa, and they had not yet fixed upon a locality for a permanent settlement. There was not a single individual attempting to instruct any section of the Bantu.

As for schools, there was one in which Latin and French were taught in Capetown, there were three more elementary under the care of the parish clerks of Capetown, Stellenbosch, and Paarl, and one at the Moravian station Genadendal. Elsewhere the Dutch inhabitants depended upon itinerant teachers, usually of a very low grade, and no other children received any education from books.

In the entire extent of the Cape Colony there were only four inferior courts of justice, with a high

court in Capetown. It was thus possible in many parts to commit offences with impunity, but fortunately the disposition of the white people was averse to crime. The Portuguese stations were under military rule, and each was provided with a captain, besides other officials to administer justice. As there were very few residents at each of them, and those few within an area that could easily be overlooked, crime could be suppressed without difficulty. But nowhere else was the law of civilised countries in force.

Not one of the rivers was bridged, and only at the principal fords of two—the Berg and the Breede—were there pontoons to convey travellers from side to side. Very often when on a journey in the Cape Colony people would be detained for days together on the bank of a stream, waiting for the torrent caused by a heavy fall of rain at its sources to subside. The roads were the natural surface of the country, and when the ruts in them were worn deep by the action of water, fresh tracks were used. No mountain pass had been opened for traffic, and no vehicle of less strength than a waggon drawn by a team of from ten to sixteen oxen could traverse the country. Fifty or sixty English miles a day could be crossed by a man on horseback in favourable weather, but the highest rate of speed attained by the ox-waggon, on which alone goods or farm produce could be conveyed, was fifteen to eighteen.

There was no inland mail, for though a post-office had just been established in Capetown, it was intended solely for oversea communication. It frequently happened that no letters or papers arrived from abroad for two or three months, for it was not every captain of a ship who took the trouble to arrange

with the postal authorities in Europe to bring out a mail. Government despatches of importance were forwarded to and fro by men-of-war or packets specially engaged for the purpose. To send a letter inland it was necessary to employ a mounted messenger, or to wait for a favourable opportunity by a friendly traveller. Under these circumstances, as may be imagined, correspondence was extremely limited.

In all South Africa in the year 1800 only one tiny sheet termed a newspaper was printed. It was the *Government Gazette* of the Cape Colony, commenced in that year, and published weekly in Cape-town. Besides proclamations, advertisements, and notices, in the Dutch and English languages, it contained a column or two of reading matter extracted chiefly from European publications, but under a strict censorship by a government official. There was no other printing press in the country than the one on which this sheet was produced.

The coast of South Africa is bold and unbroken, with no deep inlets in the land except Saldanha Bay, False Bay, and Delagoa Bay. The first of these is unsuitable for a shipping port, owing to the barrenness of the soil around it and the want of fresh water. The second has in one of its recesses named Simon's Bay a fairly good harbour, but access to it by land was so difficult in the olden times that it could not be made a port of entry. The third is an unhealthy locality, and is so situated that at the beginning of the century little use could be made of it except by whalers. There are no navigable rivers emptying on the western or southern coasts, and consequently there is not a single good natural harbour that can be used by shipping. In Table Bay,

the only port south of the Zambesi that was frequented to any large extent a hundred years ago, shipwrecks attended by terrible loss of life and property were frequent. All the commerce between Europe and India passed by these dangerous shores, with their hidden reefs projecting far into the sea, yet there was not one lighthouse, nor even a single beacon on any part of the coast.

The country is a large flat-topped mountain standing out of the ocean, and, with the exception of its south-western extremity, lying within the zone of the south-east winds. Owing to its formation the streams are torrents when rain falls, but in dry weather most of them are mere successions of pools. The belt along the eastern and southern coasts usually has an ample supply of moisture, as the prevailing winds are from the sea, and as they meet the mountain sides and rise along them necessarily discharge what they have absorbed by evaporation in the warmer and lower part of their course. The western coast belt, in the north many hundreds of miles in width, is dry and parched, as there the winds, coming over the land, have no moisture to lose. The greater part of the interior plain depends chiefly upon thunderstorms, which are frequently very violent. Nowhere is conservation of water more needed than here, for wherever it is abundant the ground is like that of the garden of Eden, and wherever it is wanting the land is a barren and sunburnt waste. In 1800 there was not an artificial reservoir in any locality south of the Zambesi, except on a very few farms in the Cape Colony. Everywhere else the water, upon which so much depended, was allowed to run to waste.

The northern frontier of the Cape Colony was exposed to the depredations of a band of robbers, con-

sisting chiefly of Hottentots and mixed breeds, who had their fastness on some islands in the Orange River, and who for years defied every attempt of the Europeans to root them out. The eastern part of the colony was a wide field of desolation, pillaged and laid waste by the irruption of a Bantu horde. Fully one-fourth of the area nominally owned by white men, and that the richest portion of the colony for stockbreeding, was then in the actual possession of invading barbarians.

There was no such thing as representative government in any part of the country, nor had the people anywhere the faintest voice in making the laws by which they were bound or regulating the taxes which they were required to pay. Despotic rule was universal.

Turning to another subject in which there is a strong contrast between the condition of things at the beginning and the close of the century, it may be remarked that the fauna of South Africa at the former period was the richest in variety and quantity on the face of the globe. The largest terrestrial mammal of the world, the African variety of the elephant, and the smallest, the tiny field-mouse, were here found side by side. Three kinds of rhinoceros roamed over different pastures. The giraffe only came south to the Orange River, but the hippopotamus frequented every stream. The number of antelopes, varying in size from the eland, larger than an ox, to the little bluebuck, no bigger than a lamb a fortnight old, was amazing. Gnus, zebras, quaggas, buffaloes, and wild hogs were abundant. Among the carnivora were lions, leopards, hyenas, jackals, wild dogs, and many species of the smaller cats.

Of birds the variety was no less. The ostrich was

among the number, corresponding to the elephant among the mammalia, but the smallest of the winged creatures was not so diminutive as the humming-bird of America, though some species were hardly less beautiful.

Of reptiles the same remark can be made, taking the huge crocodiles of the northern rivers as the largest of this class. There were many kinds of snakes, poisonous and harmless, none, however, equal to the boa in size. Guanas, chameleons, and lizards were plentiful, and tortoises swarmed in many places.

Insects were less numerous than in the valley of the Amazon, but they included the locust, that sometimes appeared in such numbers as to destroy everything green in vast districts. The white ant was also a destructive creature. As if to compensate for the damage done by these, the bee was plentiful, and in the season of flowers great quantities of honey and wax were easily obtained.

Of the flora, the huge forest trees, unfortunately confined to limited areas, and the infinite variety and beauty of the wild flowers, it is unnecessary to speak largely, because, unlike the fauna, it remains now almost as it was a century ago. Still, some change in a progressive direction, though but slight as yet, will require notice at the close of this volume.

That the country possessed mineral wealth was not entirely unknown, though no one suspected that the richest gold and diamond mines in the world were hidden in its bosom. Gold indeed was exported from the Portuguese possessions, but in very small quantities, being collected only by a few Bantu with the crudest appliances in the territory near the Zambesi. The copper mines of Namaqualand had been visited by white men, and the richness of the

ore had been tested, though no use was made of it, for means were wanting to convey it over the rugged and arid belt of land between the mines and the sea. Iron was in common use by the Bantu, but no European regarded it as adding any value to the country. Of the other minerals now known to be plentiful, none except salt, which was to be found in numerous pans or depressions in the surface of the soil, had then been brought to light.

There are no means of ascertaining the number of human beings who occupied the country between the Zambesi and the southern coast a hundred years ago, but there is good ground for believing that it did not exceed three millions. Their manner of living, their advance in mechanical arts, and the range of their thought can, however, be told with accuracy. Let a brief glance now be thrown upon the various sections of these people.



## CHAPTER II.

## ANCIENT INHABITANTS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

IN South Africa there were three distinct races of men before the European made his appearance in the land, and they were still here in 1800. The lowest in order of these was the race termed by us Bushmen. It is not certain, but it is probable, that the Bushmen were true autochthones, descendants of the people who inhabited the country in very remote ages, when the beds of the rivers were many feet higher than their present channels, and the contour of at least some of the hills was not what it is to-day. One can hardly conceive of living beings entitled to be termed *men* in a lower condition than the Bushmen. The only advance in handicraft that they appear to have made beyond that of the people of the most remote age was in shaping stone implements somewhat better, and in drilling weights for digging sticks.

The two most powerful factors in the elevation of man anywhere in a warm climate must have been war and disease. Both forced him to think: war to improve weapons for use against his enemies, disease to find remedies. When once the stage of poisoning arrows and making game pits was reached, the effort to procure food needed no further stimulus. That stage had probably been reached untold centuries earlier, and the Bushmen never made much advance beyond it. For clothing they depended on the skins

of animals, and for shelter upon caves, or in the open country upon any hollow place that could be covered with a mat. War and disease still operated as elevating agents, but neither caused more than an exceedingly slow advance. The scope for improvement of weapons was small when there was no knowledge of smelting metals, and disease was very much rarer with those savages than it is with Europeans. Sickness, too, being usually attributed to magic, the thought that it produced was more frequently turned in the wrong direction than in the right.

The Bushmen were thus in the condition of paleolithic cave-dwellers when they were first seen by Europeans. They used bone as well as stone in making their weapons, but were without any metal except an occasional assagai or arrow-head which they obtained from their enemies in war. They did not practise agriculture, nor had they any domestic animal except the dog. They were hunters, and nothing else. No animal food, whether of mammal, bird, or reptile, whether fresh or putrid, was rejected by them; and insects contributed largely to their maintenance, in locusts, some species of caterpillar, honey, and especially in the eggs of the ant. Wild plants, fruit, and roots completed their fare. They were capable of fasting for days together,—when they assuaged the pangs of hunger by tying a thong tightly around them,—and could then gorge six or seven pounds' weight of flesh at once, without any ill effect.

They were hideously ugly, pigmies in stature, by nature of a yellowish brown colour, usually covered with grease and dirt, and though fleet of limb and capable of following game great distances, were physically unfit for any other kind of labour. As experience has since shown, they were positively in-

capable of permanently adopting the habits of civilised men. Yet they were not without a considerable amount of intelligence of a certain kind. In power of mimicry they were unsurpassed by any people, and the pictures of animals which they painted on rocks prove them to have had some small degree of artistic taste and skill.

They were without any form of government, and consequently without tribunals of justice even of the crudest kind. What is strange is that they were strict monogamists, that is, no man claimed two wives at the same time, though it did not follow that union was for life; and yet they were amazingly prolific. Very few died natural deaths, most of them being killed in brawls or by the hands of enemies of other races.

If fear of something invisible outside of themselves can be called religion, the Bushmen were a religious people. They knew nothing of a God, and had no idols, nor did they observe any sacred days or revere any sacred locality. But all around them, night and day, they believed there was *something* which they could not describe, some influence which we would term that of spirits. That *something* needed to be propitiated, or it would cause evil. Thus an offering—a piece of meat, a bulb, an arrow-head, or anything useful—had to be made to it, when hunting that it might not keep game beyond reach of the bow, when crossing a stream that it might not cause drowning, and so on in every action of life. One thing—maybe an arrow, a pretty pebble, or only a bit of wood—was lucky, another thing was the reverse, and thus value was attached to what we term charms. Some of them believed that the moon and stars possessed a mysterious power, and begged fa-

vours from them, though it would be incorrect to say that the race had advanced so far as to sidereal worship. This religion, or superstition, or whatever we may term it, bound the Bushman as in fetters of iron. It offered no hope for the hereafter, it gave no solace in distress, it did not tend to make him wiser or better in any way whatever. It was a cruel nightmare, that never left him from the time when first he began to search for food till the hour when he breathed his last.

The hand of these savages was against every man, and every man's hand was against them. The Bantu did not believe that they were human beings in the same sense that white men or black men were, but regarded them merely as a malignant species of ape, notwithstanding their power of speech, of making fire by rubbing two pieces of wood together, and of shooting game. The most enlightened black chief in South Africa at the present day, though a Christian and a man of extremely benevolent disposition, was with difficulty persuaded by his missionary to allow an effort to be made to instruct the Masarwa—the best specimens of the Bushmen—in his country. He argued that one might as well attempt to instruct the jackals. At last, however, he consented, the attempt was made by one of the most zealous and patient teachers in the mission field, but like all preceding efforts of the kind it was unsuccessful.

At one time the Bushmen were spread over the whole country, but before the beginning of the century they were confined in the territory occupied by the Bantu to the most rugged mountains and to the deserts, where it was exceedingly difficult to find them. Elsewhere in the eastern portion of South Africa they,

had been utterly exterminated. In the western portion a hundred years earlier they were the sole occupants of nearly the whole of the basin of the Orange River, and were also scattered over the remainder of the territory between the Upper Zambesi and the Cape of Good Hope. But before 1800 they had been driven out of the Cape Colony, and at that time carried on nearly ceaseless war with the white people and their old hereditary enemies the Hottentots along its northern border from the Stormberg to the Atlantic. It was impossible for Europeans and savages of so low a type, who made no distinction between domestic cattle and game, to live peacefully side by side. Sometimes the white men were obliged to abandon their advanced posts and to retreat for a season, but the poisoned arrow was too feeble a weapon to hold its own against the firelock, and presently a commando, that is a party of farmers under a commandant, would assemble and the lost ground would be speedily recovered.

Another race that occupied a portion of South African soil when Europeans discovered the country, and that was still here in 1800, consisted of the people termed by themselves Khoikhoi, by us Hottentots. There is a mystery about the presence of this race that has not yet been solved. It occupied only a narrow line along the western and southern coasts and along the banks of the Orange River. Where it came from, or when it made its first appearance, no one is able to say. In colour of skin and in some other respects the Hottentots, though larger in frame, resembled the Bushmen, but in skull measurements the difference is great, and there are so many other points of variance that the theory is untenable either that the Hottentots are an improved branch of Bush-

man stock or that the Bushmen are a degraded branch of remote Hottentot origin.

To go no further, the languages are constructed differently. Languages, when there is no written literature, change rapidly. New words are introduced, and old ones take other meanings. Thus there were several Hottentot dialects, differing considerably from each other, though the whole race did not outnumber the dwellers in a third-class European city. The tribe on the Namaqua coast had no intercourse with the tribe on the Keiskama, a thousand miles away, and thus in course of time it came about that had they met they could not have understood each other. In the same way there was an infinite number of Bushman dialects. But in each case the structure of the language remained unchanged, just as the structure of English would remain if a great number of new words were introduced. We should, for instance, still form the plurals of nouns by a change at the end of the word, not at the beginning, no matter what words we used.

The highest authority on these languages, the late Dr. W. Bleek, whose comparative grammar was the result of long and careful investigation, states that the nearest forms of speech akin to the Hottentot are to be found in Northern Africa, hence it has been supposed that the ancestors of these people in some remote time came from that part of the world. But there is nothing else to lead to this conclusion, and the theory has to encounter many obstacles. Whatever their origin may have been, in all probability there was in their veins a strong mixture of Bushman blood, derived from girls taken captive in war. The Bushman spared no enemy, male or female, young or old, but the Hottentot was more merciful,

and as he had no scruple against polygamy, would not object to adding the daughters of his foes to his household. Many of the Korana clans of the present day have in this manner a large proportion of Bushman blood, and most of the so-called Bushmen in the northern districts of the Cape Colony and Betshuanaland are in reality halfbreeds who prefer a wandering to a settled life. The same cause must have operated in the same manner in olden times.

The Hottentots were very much higher on the ladder of progress than the wild and utterly savage hunters. They did not till the ground, but they were in possession of horned cattle and sheep, milk being the principal article of their food. They knew how to smelt iron and copper, though they did not make much use of that knowledge, owing to their excessive indolence and to a feeling of perfect contentment if they had just sufficient to get through life with. It would not be incorrect to term them nomads, though often for months together their huts of wattles and mats were pitched on the same ground. The condition of the pasture in fact determined their movements: as long as it was good they did not trouble themselves to take down their dwellings, though these could be broken up, placed upon pack oxen, conveyed to a distance, and re-erected almost as easily as tents; but when the grass dried up or was eaten off they sought sustenance for their kine elsewhere.

In addition to the bow and poisoned arrow these people used the assagai or javelin and a knobbed stick in war and the chase. Their clothing was made of the skins of animals, domestic and wild. A few rough earthenware pots, with ostrich egg-shells to carry water in, comprised almost the only articles

needed in their homes. All the natives of South Africa were fond of rubbing their bodies with grease and painting themselves with clay or soot, to which the Hottentots added the dried powder of a highly-scented herb, which made their presence particularly offensive to the nostrils of Europeans.

Their power of thought was comparatively high. They speculated upon the operations of nature, the composition of the sky and the heavenly bodies, and such like subjects; and though their conclusions might be considered childish or absurd, there was an indication at least that their minds were busy. They were fond of telling stories in which animals were represented as conversing and acting, and some of these tales really were ingenious in a high degree.

They believed in charms and witchcraft, but they had as an object of reverence a mythical hero called Heitsi-Eibib, whose worship consisted in throwing a green bough or a stone upon a cairn. This Heitsi-Eibib was believed to have died and returned to life again several times, and may have originated in the contorted tradition of a prominent individual of a distant time when the whole race occupied a small area, or, as Dr. T. Hahn—who lived long among the Namaquas and is conversant with their language—suggests in his book upon the subject, may be a myth of the dawn dispelling the darkness. The moon was regarded by them with affection, though it was not considered to be a divinity. Their greatest pleasure was the dance in the cool moonlit evenings, and so when the thin crescent was seen in the west after a few nights of darkness there was much noisy mirth.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Hottentots in the Cape Colony, much the larger sec-



tion of the race, had undergone a great change from their earlier condition. They had not been able to resist the temptation to exchange their cattle for trifling ornaments, above all for spirituous liquor and tobacco, and in consequence they had sunk into great poverty. Smallpox on three different occasions had attacked the tribes with terrible effect, nearly exterminating many of them, and reducing even the strongest to a few helpless families. Owing to these causes the old tribal organisation had disappeared, and though there were still individuals among them termed chiefs, they had really no power over their followers. The colonial authorities did not interfere with them except when the interests of Europeans were affected, for they were regarded in law as a free and independent people, hence, as far as their relationship to each other was concerned, those not living with the new occupants of the country were in a condition of complete anarchy.

This state of things had led to the great majority of the Hottentots becoming dependents of the colonists. They lived upon farms, and did all kinds of light labour, such as herding cattle, assisting in the chase, and collecting fuel, in return for which they received protection and maintenance. They were thus in a servile condition, though they could not be sold as slaves, and for persistent ill-treatment they had always the remedy of removal. The European was in fact a chief, and they were his retainers. Their associates were his negro slaves, with whose blood theirs was becoming mingled, for their women commonly preferred a negro as their mate to a man of their own race.

The Moravian Brethren had recently commenced a mission among these people upon a tract of land

granted to them by the government for the purpose, and there several hundred families were collected and were being instructed in the truths of Christianity as well as how to live by the labour of their hands. They were destined to prove that the Hottentot, though not capable of attaining the highest European standard of thought, energy, and application, had in him a very considerable power of progress.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE BANTU OR KAFFIRS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

A VASTLY more important element of the population of the country than either of the two races already mentioned consisted of the dark-skinned tribes now commonly termed Bantu. The word Bantu means simply people, being the plural form of *umntu*, a person, but as they had no name for themselves collectively, the eminent philologist Dr. Bleek proposed that it should be adopted to signify the whole race, and so it came into general use with Europeans for that purpose. They were of more importance than the others because, first, they were numerically at least as fifteen to one, and secondly, because they were a robust and aggressive people, not destined to dwindle away before the white man like the Bushmen and the Hottentots.

Their original home was somewhere in the north, where their kindred at the present day possess the continent from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic, but they must have crossed the Zambesi long before the commencement of the Christian era. Their settlement south of the Limpopo, however, cannot date back more than a few hundred years. When, in the middle of the sixteenth century, the crews of some Portuguese ships wrecked on the coast travelled north-eastward to Delagoa Bay, they found that the vanguard of this race had reached the Umzimvubu, and a hundred years later it had got as far as the

Kei. That river was crossed in the time of the chief Palo, whose descendants in the fifth generation are now living. Thus ever since white people became acquainted with them, the eastern Bantu tribes have been steadily and surely pressing southward, and they are doing so still.

There are no means of ascertaining how far south they had reached in the interior of the continent before the close of the sixteenth century, for chronology is unknown in their traditions, but the not very distant ancestors of living chiefs are described by their antiquaries as residing far away in the north. On the western seaboard they had not then reached the neighbourhood of Walfish Bay.

Those of the eastern part of the continent are of mixed blood, one branch of their ancestors being of Asiatic origin. For a very long time before the appearance of white men there were Arab settlements along the shore between Cape Guardafui and the Bazaruto Islands, consisting almost exclusively of males who took to themselves harems of native women. But this is insufficient to account for the large proportion of Asiatic blood that, it is evident, flows in the veins of the eastern Bantu of the present day, and which probably owes its existence to intercourse much more remote.

Scattered over nearly the whole of the territory now known as Rhodesia are ruins of stone buildings, some of great size, that were never planned by Africans. They were not constructed by highly-civilised men, but by people who were indifferent as to whether a wall was quite perpendicular and of even thickness throughout its whole length, and whether a curve was perfectly regular, but who were still capable of cutting stone and erecting massive

structures without mortar. They were gold miners, and sank pits along the quartz reefs with which the country abounds to get out the metal-bearing stone, but as soon as water was reached they were obliged to desist, for they knew of no means of keeping their workings dry. The numerous stone phalli that have been found in the ruins indicate the nature of their religion and the antiquity of their residence on the highlands between the Zambesi and the Limpopo.

There was only one way in which the extraction of gold from quartz with such implements as they possessed could be made to pay, and that was by means of slave labour. With a large number of male slaves engaged in mining and of female slaves in cultivating the ground and raising food, there would be a profit, otherwise not. The slaves were undoubtedly Africans, their taskmasters Asiatic intruders, and the great buildings were forts occupied by the ruling race. As in all cases of this kind, the strangers, being unaccompanied by females of their own land, would take to themselves harems of native women, and thus a class of mixed breeds would arise.

For a long series of years, most likely for many centuries, this immigration of Asiatics continued, and though some of them may have returned with gold to the land of their birth, their offspring remained in Africa. The extent of territory in which the remains of their buildings are found and the enormous amount of quartz removed and broken up indicate that the number of the intruders must have been very large. It is therefore not unreasonable to look to this source for the blood that has given to the eastern Bantu in general a lighter colour and higher intelligence than their western kinsmen, and which

not unfrequently produces individuals with pure Asiatic features.

These people were divided into tribes, each of which was composed of a number of small sections that may be termed clans. Each clan was independent of all the others, as far as its internal government was concerned, but the whole were subject for purposes of war to the great or paramount chief of the tribe, to whom also there was an appeal in cases of law. The government was thus in some respects similar to that of the United States, but it was the very reverse of republican. In all the more powerful tribes the chiefs were despotic, and in those where a body of councillors existed the office of adviser was hereditary. The families and even distant relatives of the chiefs were privileged persons in the eye of the law, and could do many things with impunity for which commoners would be severely punished.

There are many different standards of virtue in the world. With the Bantu virtue meant implicit, unhesitating, unqualified obedience to the orders of the chief. A man might lie to every one else, without disgrace, but to his chief he must tell the truth in language not to be misunderstood. He might see his children half-starved, and no one would cry shame upon him, but he must not have food and know his chief to be hungry. He might steal from strangers, and if he was a clever thief his friends would applaud him, but the least valuable of his chief's possessions must be to him a sacred thing. This was his standard—a standard based upon his religion; and religion was to him a very real thing.

His deities were the spirits of his ancestors, and above them all were the spirits of the ancestors of his

great chief. These could inflict endless woe if they were not respected as they ought to be, and it would plainly be a mark of disrespect to them to treat their descendant, the living chief, with anything like unfaithfulness. In this was the secret of the immense power wielded over their followers by men, often of a very low stamp, who were the heads of ruling families. It was believed that the spirits sometimes came to visit their old haunts, and then they assumed an animal form. By the southern tribes the form was held to be that of a certain kind of snake, which was therefore never molested. One northern tribe held the lion to be the garb of the spirits of its chiefs, and another the crocodile. Every tribe on the central highlands reveres some animal, which they will on no account harm, and though they do not now believe that the spirits of their chiefs assume that form, their ancestors undoubtedly did. These tribes take their titles from the animals thus respected, as the Batlapin, that is, the Fish; the Bakwena, that is, the Crocodiles, and so on.

On all occasions of trouble sacrifices are offered to the spirits that are supposed to have caused it. If the trouble happens to a family, its head sacrifices a goat or an ox; if it happens to a tribe, the sacrifice is performed with much ceremony by an individual of great influence, who may correctly be termed the tribal priest, as this is his principal duty, though he also administers medicine to the warriors before going to battle to make them invulnerable if they do their duty. Further, he watches carefully over the person of the chief, to ward off invisible danger.

This was the religion of all the Bantu, but with some sections it was slightly modified by local circumstances, or by conquest when the ruling family

was destroyed. Frequently broken clans were obliged to seek admission into a strange tribe, and in such a case generations might pass before their new rulers could stand in the same position to them as their old ones had done.

Every one had firm faith in the existence of hobgoblins and malevolent beings of various kinds, that inhabited not only the dry land, but the running streams, and especially deep pools of water. Of such imaginary spirits they stood in constant dread, but as no worship was offered to them, this superstition cannot be said to partake of the nature of religion.

The belief in witchcraft was general, and caused an enormous amount of suffering. If a human being or an ox died, if sickness occurred, if an accident of any kind happened, if a crop of millet was blighted, it was at once attributed to the malevolence of some wizard or witch, unless there was reason to believe that an angry spirit was the cause. A witchfinder by profession was then called in, who, after certain incantations, would point out some person as guilty. Confiscation of property, torture, death, in extreme cases the indiscriminate slaughter of all relatives, young and old, followed as punishment. In many tribes the number of people who perished through charges of dealing in witchcraft was greater than of those who died natural deaths. In some, especially in those of the north, there was an appeal from the decision of the witchfinder to a trial by ordeal. The accused person was then required to drink a deadly poison, or to lift a piece of red-hot iron, on the assumption that if he was innocent no harm would happen to him. Failure meant destruction to his whole household, yet many individuals



accepted the test with apparent alacrity, confiding in their freedom from guilt.

It shows how very differently people can regard the same thing that when on one occasion not long since the European authorities believed they were conferring a great benefit upon a particular tribe by suppressing the witchfinders and preventing punishment on charges of dealing in sorcery, the people affected, instead of being grateful as it was supposed they ought to have been, were sullen and hostile, saying to themselves that the white men were giving them over to the wizards without protection or redress.

From their religion it might be supposed that these people were endowed with high imaginative power, but in reality the reverse was the case. In this respect they were far below the Hottentots, as, generally speaking, they did not trouble themselves to think, except about matters concerning their bodily wants. Any one who supposes that purity or elevation of mind is to be found among barbarians would speedily change his opinion if he were to listen to the ordinary conversation of a group of men of the Bantu race who have not been under the influence of Europeans. He would discover that as a rule their thoughts are of a low and sensual order, their dispositions cruel, and their language frequently disgusting. There are exceptions, however, to this statement, and some very notable ones will appear in the course of this narrative.

The Bantu were polygamists. Marriage was purely a civil institution, no religious ceremonies being observed in their unions. It was necessary to transfer to the family of the girl a number of cattle, previously arranged with her nearest male

relatives, when she became a member of her husband's family, and her relatives lost their claim to her, unless in cases of gross ill-treatment. If maimed or disfigured, for instance, she had the privilege of returning to her former home, though even then she was obliged to leave her children behind her if her husband had transferred the full number of cattle. But in practice the full number were seldom transferred until many years after the union, and thus in case of death or separation in other ways complicated law cases arose as to what family the woman and children really belonged to. If she had daughters, some of the cattle given for them were often paid to her relatives to complete the transaction, but there was invariably a great deal of controversy about the matter. Far the greater proportion of lawsuits among these people arose from marriage questions, which sometimes went back for three or four generations, as such claims according to their ideas did not die.

In some of the tribes a man was not at liberty to marry a woman whose blood relationship to himself could be traced, no matter how remotely; in others he could marry relations on the mother's side, but not on the father's; in others again there was no restriction except between a male and a female of the same parents. In all cases there was one termed the great wife, whose eldest son was the principal heir. Another was termed the wife of the right hand, and her eldest son was entitled to that portion allotted to his branch of the family during his father's lifetime. The remainder of the sons could claim assistance from these to make a beginning on their own account, but had no definite share of their father's property assigned to them by law.

These people were probably the most prolific on the face of the earth. Every woman was married at an early age, and as they were vigorous and healthy, few were childless. Even widows had by custom male companions assigned to them, in order that they should bear children, who by law were regarded as those of their deceased husbands. Thus the number of the population was kept up, notwithstanding the terrible waste of life by the constant wars in which the tribes were engaged with each other and the massacres on charges of dealing in witchcraft.

There were many dialects in use among them, differing as widely from each other as German from English, but all following the same grammatical rules. The *hlonipa* custom, which prevented a woman from using any word in which the principal syllable of the name of her husband or any of his male relatives in the ascending line occurred, had some influence in producing dialects, but not very much. There was a steady, if slow, change taking place in every group irrespective of that.

The Bantu were agriculturists as well as cattle-breeders and workers in metals. The labour of tilling the ground fell upon the women, who broke up the soil with a heavy iron hoe, planted the seed, and gathered the crops. Millet was the chief product of their gardens, but they had also sweet cane, gourds, and a kind of bean. The women made earthenware pots and rush mats, gathered fuel, and cooked the food. The heaviest part of the work in preparing the materials and building the dome-shaped huts in which they slept was likewise their portion. The men herded the cattle, milked the cows, prepared and sewed skins for clothing, and were the workers in wood and metals. They were

fairly skilful in carving wood, though they could not join two pieces together, and their smiths could turn out small articles in iron or copper that would have been creditable to a European workman.

The chief occupation, however, for which the men considered themselves adapted was war. From early youth they underwent a training in the use of weapons, and the condition in which they lived kept them in pretty constant practice till death. The southern tribes used only the assagai and knobbed stick in attack, but in the north the bow and arrow and the battle-axe were added. All used the oxhide shield for defensive purposes.

It is impossible to say where the Bantu of the eastern coast first came into contact with Hottentots in their migration southward. It may have been a long way north of the Umzimvubu, but at any rate when they crossed that stream they were in Hottentot country. As they advanced, the weaker race was partly destroyed and partly absorbed by the appropriation of young females. The Xosa tribe, that formed the vanguard, thus came to have a considerable mixture of Hottentot blood, and the next behind, the Tembu, was similarly affected, though not to the same extent.

In the centre of the continent the collision took place in the neighbourhood of the Orange River, the only part of the interior ever occupied by Hottentots. There the Batlapin were in advance, and they have mixed their blood freely with that of the Koranas.

On the western coast the two races must have met a long way north of Walfish Bay, but the exact point cannot be ascertained. Here the Hottentots appear to have been at first the conquerors, for there are

communities of black people in Damaraland at the present day who speak a dialect of the Hottentot language and have many Hottentot customs. They are in a very degraded condition, and are to a certainty Bantu whose ancestors were reduced to servitude. Before the commencement of the century, however, the Ovaherero or Damaras had obtained possession of the country down to the Swakop River.

With the Bantu everywhere might was right. The strong took without pity, and the weak were crushed and despised. There were no more tyrannous slaveholders in the world than the Betschuana, their bondsmen being people of their own race, the descendants of tribes vanquished in war. The wretched Bakalihari could own nothing, not even the skin of a wild animal, their lives could be taken at the caprice of their owners, and they were valued in exchange at only a goat apiece.

In the year 1800 this race occupied the whole country north of a line running from Walfish Bay eastward to about the centre of the Kalihari, thence south to the Orange River, up along the Orangeto the Vaal, and up the Vaal to about the twenty-eighth degree of longitude east of Greenwich. It possessed the eastern part of the Orange Free State and nearly the whole of the present Basutoland. On the eastern coast the Fish River was its limit by arrangement between several chiefs and the government of the Cape Colony, but a powerful horde had recently crossed that stream and occupied the land as far as the Bushman's River.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE PORTUGUESE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

To the Portuguese the honour of the discovery of South Africa is due. For a long time they had been pushing their way down the coast, each expedition going a little farther than its predecessor. Their object was not geographical discovery alone, but chiefly to divert from Venice the rich trade in Indian productions which that republic carried on. Spices, calico, and other articles were brought by Arabs and other Asiatics from Hindostan to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, and were then carried overland to Mediterranean ports, where the Venetians obtained them for distribution over Europe. It was evident that if an entire ocean route could be discovered, these articles could be sold at an enormous profit, and still far cheaper than the rates at which the Venetians could afford to supply them. Venice would be ruined, but Lisbon would thrive and prosper, and what nation takes thought of the distress she brings upon others by rivalry of this kind?

In 1486 an adventurous Portuguese seaman, named Bartholomeu Dias, left Lisbon with three tiny vessels, such as one would not care to-day to use for crossing the English Channel, and crept along the African shore until he reached a point somewhere near the mouth of the Orange River. Here he was overtaken by a storm and blown out to sea, but his puny craft, wretchedly uncomfortable as they must

have been, proved good sea-boats, for they weathered the gale and the violence of the waves, that in no part of the ocean are more formidable than where they then were.

And now a notable thing occurred. Dias steered eastward to reach the coast once more, and sailed onward day after day without finding it. What could be the cause? he thought, and he was not long in guessing it. Turning to the north, he soon got sight of the continent again, and knew that the secret of its extent was solved, for he had passed its southern point. He went as far as the mouth of the Fish River, and then reluctantly turned homeward, for his sailors refused to go farther. We can hardly blame them, if we reflect upon the scanty supply of food the cockleshells they were in were capable of carrying, and how comfortless and dreary their lives on board must have been.

On the 8th of July, 1497, ten years after the return of Dias, Vasco da Gama, a young man who had given proof of great perseverance and ability, sailed from the Tagus with four vessels, well equipped for those days. From the island of Santiago, where he took in water and fresh provisions, he stood boldly in a direct course for the Cape of Good Hope, and made the land next at the curve of the coast which he named St. Helena Bay. Thence he counted the pillars, as the Portuguese sailors expressed it, that is, he kept generally in sight of the shore until he reached Mossel Bay, where he anchored. After a short stay there, he proceeded on his voyage, and giving to the beautiful land which he passed by on Christmas the name which it still bears—Natal—he touched next at the mouth of the Limpopo River. From the Limpopo he proceeded to the Kilimané or

northernmost mouth of the Zambesi. Thus the full extent of the South African seaboard became known, though of course it could not be accurately laid down on a chart, for no method whatever had yet been invented for determining longitudes, and the instrument used for ascertaining latitudes was so cumbrous and clumsy that errors of one or two degrees were by no means uncommon.

Vasco da Gama touched at various places farther north, and having obtained a pilot at Melinde who was well acquainted with the route, he went on to India, which he was the first European to reach by sea; but there is no necessity to accompany him farther in these pages.

For a century and more after this event the Portuguese had South Africa all to themselves, as far as other Christian nations were concerned. Let us now see what they did with it, and trace—though very lightly—their transactions down to the commencement of the century, when it will be requisite to note their exact position.

Lured by reports of a commerce in gold carried on by Arabs, that they heard first at Mozambique and afterwards wherever they put in to the north, in 1505 the Portuguese under a leader named Pedro d'Anhaya founded a fort and factory at Sofala, the first European establishment in South Africa. There was what was called a Moorish or Arab settlement at this place, for many centuries earlier Arabs had moved down from the borders of the Red Sea, and had gradually occupied all the islands and many points on the coast of the mainland as far south as Bazaruto. They were keen traders. Their vessels plied between India, the shore of the Persian Gulf, and the coast of Africa, which they had ex-



plored as far south as Cape Correntes. They will not be mentioned as inhabitants of South Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, because the Portuguese had driven nearly all of them out long before that time.

The Arabs had mingled their blood with that of the Bantu inhabitants to such an extent that most of those who went by that name on the African seaboard were little better than negroes, and were quite unfit to meet the Portuguese on equal terms. At this time also they were divided into several independent communities, hostile to each other. As soon as those of Sofala ascertained that the strangers were building a fort instead of a simple trading station, they made war, but were quickly beaten, and thereafter gave little trouble. With their fall the gold trade received a great check, for white men could not traverse the country like pedlars, as they had done, and the Bantu would only collect the precious metal if beads and loincloths were carried to them in the interior.

Still a little was procured, and from it and ivory and ambergris—which was then found in considerable quantities on sandy parts of the beach—sufficient profit was made to meet the current expenses and keep up hope for the future. Some years later trading stations were established at Sena and Tete on the southern bank of the Zambesi, the first about a hundred and forty and the second over three hundred miles from the sea, and at these places as at Sofala a few Portuguese males were thereafter to be found, contending with fever and living amid the most wretched surroundings.

In 1560 two missionaries of the Society of Jesus entered the country, but one was murdered and the

other was obliged by the attitude of the people to withdraw. They were followed a few years later by Dominicans, who fared better, and in course of time a good many stations were established. If one were to judge by the number of baptisms the Christian teachers met with amazing success, but as later events proved their efforts were absolutely fruitless in permanent effects. It is impossible to say how far the missionaries penetrated the country. The waves of war that have since rolled over the land have obliterated most of the native names that are found in their records, and only in a few instances, where they state distances in leagues or days' journeys in a certain direction from Tete or Sena, can the positions they mention be approximately fixed. It is probable, however, that at one time or other they visited nearly every part of the territory now known as Mashonaland. During the seventeenth century the Jesuits renewed their attempt to occupy this field, and they also founded several stations.

Greatly disappointed in the volume of the trade, the Portuguese government imagined that if the country were conquered and ruled by them better results would be obtained. So a military expedition was fitted out on a grand scale, according to the ideas of the time, and reached the Zambesi in 1572. At its head was a man of note named Francisco Barreto, who had once been governor-general of Portuguese India. Almost immediately after reaching Sena fever appeared among the soldiers, and the horses began to die, probably from the bite of the tsetse. Suspicion of causing these disasters by poison fell upon some unfortunate Moors who were living in the neighbourhood, and they were seized and put to death by every variety of torture that could be

devised. Then the army marched inland, and was victorious in several battles over great bands of natives, till fever and the impossibility of caring for the wounded forced a retreat. Aid in men and materials of war came from Europe and India, but in vain. Barreto died, and his son, and his officers, and nearly all of his soldiers, and only a few human wrecks escaped to tell the story of one of the greatest disasters the little kingdom had ever sustained in foreign war. The country remained unconquered, but the fortified stations of Sofala, Sena, and Tete were still occupied by the Portuguese.

Hitherto the trade had been carried on by factors on account of the royal treasury. There was no such thing known as a private merchant importing goods or exporting gold or ivory, everything was brought and sent away in a vessel fitted out in the name of the king. But now a different system was introduced. The commerce of all the country south of the Zambesi was farmed out to the governors of Mozambique for periods of three years, the governors contracting to defray the expenses of the different stations and to pay into the royal treasury a sum of about twenty-two thousand dollars annually. The number of officers and men to be kept at each station, the salaries to be paid to each one, and all other details that could be thought of were fixed in the agreements. At the end of each term the governor underwent an examination by a judge, and if it could be shown that he had failed to maintain the stipulated garrisons, or had allowed the forts to get out of repair, he was liable to be punished.

Though it is evident that a system like this must have been attended with many abuses, as far as the royal treasury was concerned it worked better than

the other. The governors imported from India all the goods that could be disposed of, they farmed out to subordinate agents certain districts or certain articles, and these agents in their turn employed natives whom they trained to travel over the country and buy and sell in small quantities. Trading stations, or fairs as they were called, were established in various places, and were secured from plunder by periodical presents to the chiefs in whose territories they were situated. Usually a Dominican missionary went to reside at such a fair, and the traders, when they were men of any ability, rapidly acquired influence with the natives in the neighbourhood.

Generally once a year, though sometimes less frequently, a vessel was sent from Mozambique to Inhambane and Delagoa Bay, to collect ivory and ambergris. The master and mate were Portuguese, but the sailors were Moors who received no wages, as they had the privilege of trading in honey, wax, and millet on their own account instead. Booths were set up on shore, and for four or five months the strangers were engaged in barter. Farther south than Delagoa Bay they never went.

So matters remained till the Dutch wrested the richest parts of India from the Portuguese, and tried to get possession of the coast of Eastern Africa also, though in this they failed. It was little more than a century from the time of her great discoveries and conquests, when Portugal presented to the world the aspect of a feeble and nerveless country. Many causes contributed to this, far the most important of which was the introduction of negro slaves into her southern provinces. In a few generations a fusion of blood with the peasantry of those provinces took place, and an indolent, unenterprising, frivo-

lous people, incapable of commanding respect or of ruling others, was the result. The northern Portuguese and the better class of the southern remained, as they are to-day, men fit to conquer and to hold foreign possessions, but what could they do with the dead weight of the mixed breeds of the larger part of their country hanging upon them?

The wealth of the East was lost for ever, and now what little power of effort was left in Portugal was devoted to South-Eastern Africa. Never before were so many instructions issued by the king and his cabinet as to what was to be done to secure the gold and reputed silver mines in that territory. One scheme after another was projected, and was worked out on paper as if Portugal still occupied her old position. A Jesuit father dreamed and wrote of a great Portuguese empire extending from the Cape of Good Hope to Abyssinia, and including the island of Madagascar, at a time when it was not possible to supply even an adequate garrison for the fortress of Mozambique. On reading these documents one would imagine that armies could still be raised and treasure expended, but the officials in India and Africa knew better, and their reports contained constant complaints of want of men and money.

For twenty or thirty years an effort was made to conquer the Zambesi basin, but the puny forces dignified with the name of armies, the wooden stockades pompously termed forts, effected nothing at all. On more than one occasion the white men were nearly exterminated. The strongest army that could be raised at this period, consisting of four hundred soldiers, was cut off to a man. The tribes and the country remained unconquered.

But now another scene comes into view. Individual Portuguese, men of courage and ability, though in most cases sadly lacking in morality, acquired influence with the native rulers, gathered followers about them, and became chiefs of districts. Taking advantage of tribal feuds and wars, they espoused the side from which most was to be gained, and shortly they are found as independent lords. They were more skilful than the native rulers and could give their dependents more, thus it came about that they were revered and obeyed by all those whose hereditary chiefs had perished and who applied to them for protection. In our own time an instance of the same kind has been seen in the career of an English adventurer named John Dunn in Zululand. These men still called themselves Portuguese subjects, and were ambitious of receiving titles of honour from Lisbon, but they cannot be regarded as colonists or as promoters of civilisation in any sense of the word. By them Portuguese rule was nominally extended very much farther in the continent than either before or since their time.

They lived in a style of barbarous luxury, though few Europeans would envy their mode of existence. Their tables were spread with all the viands of Africa and India, and the richest wines from the Douro flowed at their repasts. When they stirred even the shortest distance from the shelter of their verandas, it was in hammocks or palanquins borne by their slaves, for they disdained to walk. Their harems contained as many inmates as they fancied. Many of them possessed considerable wealth, derived chiefly from the sale of slaves and ivory. They exercised absolute authority over their people, made

war on their own account, and were in everything but name sovereign lords.

It is evident that a state of things like this could not continue long. Upon the death of a white man in such a position there was seldom a direct successor, and if the representative of the king at Mozambique or elsewhere nominated one, it was speedily found that real authority over the people could not be transferred in this manner. In connection with these great estates, of which at one time there were as many as eighty-five, the government at Lisbon devised a scheme that was intended to foster colonisation of a kind. Young women, who as orphans were wards of the state, were sent out, and received them as dowries, on condition of their marrying Portuguese born in Europe. The title descended to the eldest daughter on the same condition, but lapsed after three lives. Surely no stranger or less practical plan of occupying a country was ever devised. An attack by a warlike neighbour was sufficient to change the ownership, and so one district after another was lost, until at the close of the eighteenth century only a very few along the lower course of the Zambesi remained nominally subject to the Portuguese crown.

In the system of conducting trade change after change had been made. The worst experiment of all was opening it, near the close of the seventeenth century, to all Portuguese subjects without exception, and exacting customs duties at the places of entry. Under this system Indian traders appeared in such numbers that soon there was hardly a European dealer in merchandise left in the country, and Tete and Sena were threatened with extinction, for the white men could not compete with Asiatics

whose cost of living was only trifling in comparison. The whole of the commerce except in slaves—a branch of business opened with Brazil about thirty years previously—would have been lost to the Portuguese if a company had not been established before it was too late, with a monopoly of buying and selling in South-Eastern Africa as its privilege. It is not necessary to describe here the other experiments that followed, for the company soon ceased to exist. No commerce of any real importance, except that in slaves and ivory, was ever carried on under any system.

The missions too had disappeared. There were certainly many able and zealous men among the Dominicans and Jesuits who first attempted to convert the Bantu of South-Eastern Africa to Christianity. They did not scruple to expose themselves to hardships of the severest kind, even to death, so devoted were they to their work. But after a time Indians, mixed breeds, and Bantu were admitted to the Dominican order, and were sent to labour in the mission fields. Then came the fall. A native ministry under strict European guidance may be capable of giving immense assistance, but men who have just emerged from barbarism cannot with prudence be left entirely or even partly to themselves among people like the Bantu. Indolence and rapacity are said to have been the vices into which those in South Africa fell, but perhaps it would not be incorrect to suspect them of other failings.

On the 1st of September, 1759, a decree was issued by King Joseph I, at the instance of his celebrated minister, the Marquis of Pombal, for the expulsion of the Jesuits from all the possessions of Portugal, and in 1773 the order was suppressed by



Pope Clement XIV. In 1775 the Dominicans in South Africa were ordered to retire to Goa, and only a few secular priests were stationed at places where there were Portuguese residents. The mission stations were entirely abandoned, and even their sites were soon forgotten. The Bantu converts, left without guidance or control, within a couple of generations relapsed to the religion of their ancestors.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were only twelve hundred and seventy-seven professing Christians in the whole territory owned by Portugal in South-Eastern Africa. This number included men, women, and children, civilians and soldiers, Europeans and mixed breeds.

The occupied places at that time were on the Zambesi, Tete, and Sena, with the districts before mentioned; and, on the seacoast, Sofala, Inhambane (first permanently taken possession of in 1729), and Lourenço Marques, where a small fort had been erected and garrisoned in 1787. In the interior the influence of the Portuguese had completely disappeared, their existence was forgotten, and no trace of any kind was left to show that they ever had intercourse with the native inhabitants.

## CHAPTER V.

## THE DUTCH IN SOUTH AFRICA.

WHILE the Northern Netherland Provinces were engaged with the Spanish monarchy in their gallant struggle for freedom, the attention of some of their merchants was turned to direct communication with the rich lands of the East, from which boundless wealth was to be drawn. They had previously been the distributors over Northern Europe of spices purchased at Lisbon, but now they were shut out of that market. The great line of monarchs of the house of Avis had become extinct, and Philip the Second of Spain, as the nearest heir, had claimed the kingdom of Portugal, and upon obtaining it had forbidden all intercourse with the daring Sea Beggars of Holland and Zeeland, whom he termed his rebellious subjects. It was this union of the two Iberian monarchies that made the Portuguese possessions in India legitimate spoil for the Netherlanders, who were not the men to desist from any kind of enterprise because it happened to be dangerous.

The Dutch first made several efforts to find a route to the Pacific by the north of Europe and Asia, and when with the death of heroic Willem Barends these were given up, they followed the way round Africa. They found the Portuguese stations in India almost defenceless, so weak and so poor had the descendants of the old conquerors become. Still they were not very strong themselves, for their

country at the time could not spare many men for distant warfare, and so the few that went to the eastern seas had a good deal of hard fighting to do before they obtained possession of the Spice Islands and fixed their headquarters at Batavia in rich and fertile Java. They soon found that individual merchants and small associations could not hold their conquests long in face of the Portuguese and the natives, and so a powerful company was formed, that could send out strong armed fleets and maintain large bodies of soldiers. To the East India Company, thus called into being, the States General gave the exclusive right of trading with all countries east of the Cape of Good Hope and almost sovereign power of government wherever it might acquire territory.

The greater portion of the Indian commerce soon passed into the hands of the Dutch, who cast longing eyes also upon the eastern coast of Africa. They too, like the Portuguese a century earlier, heard of the gold that was collected in the interior and brought down to the seaports, which rumour magnified in quantity a hundredfold, and they showed a strong desire to obtain it. Three times they attacked and laid siege to the fortress of Mozambique, and as many times they were discomfited, to their own great advantage, though that they did not realise. If they had obtained possession of it they could have made nothing more out of it than the Portuguese had done, and they would have wasted their strength on the fever-stricken shore from the mouth of the Zambesi to that of the Tugela.

The loss of life on board ships in those days was appalling. No method of preserving fresh food was known, consequently scurvy caused most terrible rav-

ages. A large Indiaman, which sailed from Holland with four hundred men to work her huge sails with the clumsy tackle then in use and to fight any enemy she might meet on the passage, often arrived at Batavia with less than a fourth of that number alive, and these so feeble from disease that they could barely bring her to anchor. The soldiers on board were nearly all Germans or Swiss who had migrated from their countries in search of employment, and among the sailors were many Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes; still, apart from all humanitarian reasons, the Netherlands Republic could not afford such a drain upon the lifeblood of its people. The Portuguese had used Mozambique as a place of refreshment on their passages to and fro; the Dutch, having farther to sail, needed a similar half-way house still more. So very soon after their first appearance in the Indian seas they began to call regularly at Table Bay, where they could always obtain fresh water and fish and give their men a run ashore, and sometimes were able to barter horned cattle and sheep from the Hottentots. During the rainy season also sorrel and other wild plants, which they called in general scurvy grass, were to be had for the gathering, and were much sought after.

All this was of great advantage, but more was needed. The East India Company therefore resolved to form a proper refreshment station on the shore of Table Bay, and in April, 1652, a party of men under an officer named Jan van Riebeeck arrived for that purpose. It must be understood that there was then not the most remote intention to found a Dutch colony in South Africa. The object was merely to build a small fort for protection against the natives, to cultivate a large garden by means

of servants of the Company, to breed hogs and poultry, to purchase cattle from the Hottentots to be kept till the arrival of the fleets, and to construct a hospital where sick men could be left to recover and join the next ships that called. It was supposed that the crews of the Indiamen would thereafter be able to obtain in abundance fresh beef, mutton, pork, fish, and water, with whatever quantity of vegetables of different kinds they cared to consume, while the officers would have in addition poultry, eggs, and fruit.

The expedition found only a few utterly destitute Hottentots in Table Valley, who were pleased to see the strangers and obtain food from them. On several occasions before white people had resided there for months together collecting seal and whale oil, and only three years previously a large ship had been wrecked in the bay and her crew had made a garden while they were waiting for a fleet to take them home again. The Hottentots therefore thought that it would be the same with Mr. Van Riebeeck's party, although the erection of a fort with earthen walls ought to have caused them to come to a different conclusion. After a few weeks some clans arrived with their cattle, seeking a change of pasture, and a fairly brisk trade was done with them, oxen and sheep being exchanged freely for pieces of copper and tobacco, with some brandy thrown in by way of entertainment. The garden was laid out, cabbages and other vegetables thrived in it, and though, as in all new settlements, there were difficulties to contend with at first, the project shortly passed the experimental stage and success was assured.

Five years later another step was taken, on this occasion really with the object of founding a colony,

though a very small one. The directors of the East India Company thought that by establishing a few men as gardeners on plots of ground near the fort, they could obtain vegetables and fruit cheaper than by means of paying labourers who were idle half the year, and that such persons would be of as much use as soldiers in defending the settlement in time of war. So to any of their servants who chose to venture upon a trial they offered little farms without payment and assistance on credit to make a beginning. The company thus already claimed the proprietorship of the soil.

Some persons thought they could improve their positions in this way, and therefore a number of plots of ground were laid out along the Liesbeek River, none more than five miles distant from the fort, and were taken up by discharged soldiers and sailors. These men, as has already been\* stated, were of various nationalities, but in the Company's service they had all learned to speak Dutch. Only a very few of them, however, succeeded in making a living on their own account, much the greater number soon becoming weary of digging and planting, when they returned to their previous occupations to work off the debts they had accumulated. Their places on the little farms were then taken by others, so that a continual change went on, in which only those adapted for field labour remained, and these were nearly always men from Holland or the German states on the border. If they were married in the Netherlands their wives and children were sent out to them free of charge. In this manner a little community of agriculturists was formed, and then a few individuals were permitted to settle as tradesmen close to the fort, to meet the demand

for such productions as only the smith, the carpenter, the tailor, the shoemaker, or the wheelwright could supply. Such was the commencement of the present city of Capetown.

This expansion opened the eyes of the Hottentots to the fact that the white people had come to stay, and they were not pleased with the prospect. It was not only the cultivated ground that was lost to them, for the Company needed a considerable extent of pasture for the cattle purchased and kept in readiness for the fleets, and the farmers—or burghers as they were termed—enjoyed the right of grazing the cows and ewes they had been supplied with on credit anywhere beyond the marked out property. Questions of proprietorship thus arose, and the Hottentots were not satisfied when they were told that as the whole country beyond the little Cape peninsula was before them they must not trespass on the white people's pasture. They showed signs of hostility, plundered the burghers whenever they could, and at length murdered a man who was herding some kine.

This brought on what was afterwards termed the first Hottentot war, but it hardly deserved to be called a war at all, for on no occasion was there a pitched battle. It threw back farming operations a good deal, however, as the houses and gardens along the Liesbeek for the sake of safety were abandoned for a time, and a few Hottentots who were accidentally encountered by little bands of Europeans seeking them were shot. The trouble ended by the natives asking for peace. They had become fond of tobacco and arrack, which they could not obtain while they were at enmity with the white people, and so they admitted the East India Company to be

the owner of the ground in dispute and promised to conduct themselves in a friendly manner thenceforward.

After this event matters went on for several years in a quiet manner. Plots of ground were laid out and occupied as far as Wynberg, eight miles from the fort, which was at this time being replaced by the stone castle that is still in existence, and that in the middle of the seventeenth century was regarded as ample security against any European enemy who might wish to get possession of the settlement.

In 1672 a gentleman named Arnout van Overbeek, who was high in authority in the Company's service, called at the Cape, and assumed control of the administration during his stay. He thought that a valid title to a strip of territory could be obtained by bargaining with the Hottentot chiefs, and the two most powerful in the neighbourhood were easily induced to affix their marks to deeds of sale of the land from Saldanha Bay to False Bay in return for trifles to the value of fifty or sixty dollars.

In the following year the second Hottentot war commenced, a war that was destined to have most important effects upon the settlement. There was a tribe called the Cochoqua living just beyond the territory recently purchased, one large division of which was under a chief named Gonnema. This chief was incensed against the Europeans on account of their having formed an alliance with a tribe that was hostile to him, and further on account of their hunting game near his kraals and punishing some of his people who were caught in the act of sheepstealing. He fell upon a party of hunters and murdered them all, after which he plundered an outpost and killed some of its occupants.



An expedition was at once sent against him, and some of his cattle were seized, but he and his followers escaped to the mountains. The Dutch were assisted by the two tribes living nearest them, from whom they had purchased so much ground at so cheap a rate, but Gonnema held them all at bay for four years, during which time he nearly ruined his native enemies. He kept the settlement also in a state of such strict blockade that no cattle could be obtained, and one of the principal objects of the East India Company was thus defeated. At last, when weary of living in the mountains like a Bushman, he sued for peace, which was gladly accorded, and he became nominally a vassal of the Dutch government.

The Company now resolved to depend no longer upon the Hottentots for a supply of meat, which might be cut off at any time by a hostile tribe, but to introduce European cattle-breeders, upon whom more reliance could be placed. Thus the door was opened to that expansion of the settlement which has continued to the present day. During the next twelve years efforts were made in Holland to obtain families of a suitable class to emigrate to South Africa, and very liberal inducements were offered. They would be sent out free of charge. They would have ground given to them without other payment or tax than the tithes of corn after a certain number of years. They would be supplied with farming implements and provisions for a time at cost price on credit.

But even these liberal terms were insufficient at first to tempt agricultural labourers in any number to become South African colonists. There was then no lack of employment at home, and people did not

care to risk a sea voyage of four or five months, with its attendant peril of scurvy, and to separate themselves from their friends and the associations of their youth, to obtain land in a country of which little more was known than that it was the abode of savages. Thus only a very few emigrants were obtained before 1685.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. greatly altered this situation. Such numbers of destitute French Protestants poured into the Netherlands that there was more labour than was needed, and the East India Company was therefore able to obtain families representing about two hundred individuals of Dutch blood and an equal number of French to take up ground in the new colony. These were sent out in successive fleets,—most of the French in 1688,—and they were well provided for on the passage. At the same time some young women of unblemished character, who were without means and therefore without brilliant prospects in their native land, were induced to leave the orphan homes of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and go out to become the wives of men discharged from the Company's service. Every care was taken of them, as they were made special wards of the government until they were married, which was almost invariably very shortly after they arrived at their destination.

These colonists cost the East India Company a good deal of money before they were settled, more perhaps than the directors would have been justified in spending if their object had been merely to secure a supply of fresh meat for the use of their fleets. But by this time their views were greatly enlarged, and they now looked forward to the production of wheat, wine, and olive oil as articles of commerce

upon which they could make a profit that would more than cover their outlay.

The newcomers had farms assigned to them on the low belt of land adjoining the sea, within a distance of a day's ride on horseback from the fort in Table Valley. Here during the westerly monsoon, from April to October, the rainfall is usually ample for agricultural purposes without artificial irrigation, the grape arrives at its highest degree of perfection, and the orange, apple, plum, peach, and all other fruits of the warmer part of the temperate zone thrive as well as in any part of the world. The climate is exceedingly healthy. From November to March there are often unpleasantly warm days, but the nights are nearly always cool. This is the season of the south-east monsoon, when the wind sometimes blows furiously for two or three days together, causing much discomfort while it lasts, but acting as a perfect scavenger. During the remainder of the year the temperature is most agreeable to Europeans. In June, July, and August snow may be seen capping the mountain chains inland, but it never lies on the lower plain, though occasionally hoar frost is found there in the early morning. The sky is generally clear, and dark, damp, foggy weather is almost unknown.

In this fertile and charming locality the immigrants speedily made for themselves comfortable homes. With abundance of plain food and comparative freedom from care, they were in that condition in which the human race multiplies most rapidly. At the close of the seventeenth century there were about twelve hundred white people of both sexes and all ages in the colony, and from them a very large proportion of the present rural population of

South Africa has sprung. Rather over two-thirds of their blood was Dutch, about one-sixth was French, and the remainder was mainly German.

They had three places of worship, at Capetown, Stellenbosch, and Drakenstein, established respectively in 1665, 1687, and 1691. At each of these places there was also an elementary school, connected with the church. Capetown was still only a small village, but it contained a botanic garden belonging to the East India Company, which was celebrated throughout Europe and India. Nowhere else in the world could such a variety of plants, European, Asiatic, and African, be found growing side by side in the open air, each as if it was in its native soil. The pine, and more especially the oak, were the favourite trees of the country people, and could be seen growing wherever there were houses. The olive had not succeeded, but considerable quantities of wine were produced, and in good seasons a little wheat could be exported.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE DUTCH IN SOUTH AFRICA (*continued*).

DURING the eighteenth century hardly a family arrived from Europe, and the increase of the population was due entirely to the excess of births over deaths and to the discharge of servants of the Company. In 1700 the first range of mountains was crossed, and graziers began to settle on the second of the terraces by which the continent rises, as by steps, from the sea to the vast interior plain. This terrace receives less moisture than the one below, but it is not without much ground capable of cultivation, and it has excellent pasture for cattle. The distance from Capetown and the difficulty of getting over the mountains with waggons forced the settlers, even if they had been otherwise inclined, to rely almost entirely upon their herds for their maintenance.

The government encouraged this mode of living by its method of giving out land. On the terrace adjoining the sea farms from a hundred and twenty to a hundred and fifty acres in extent were surveyed, properly marked with beacons, and allotted in freehold, and there the proprietors depended more upon their wheatfields and their vineyards than upon stock-rearing. Beyond the first mountain range—one small valley of exceptional fertility excluded—tracts of territory nominally six thousand acres in extent were leased at a yearly rental of twenty-four

dollars. They were not surveyed, so that in practice a man took as much as he chose until some one else contested his claim. This gave rise to a desire to live at great distances apart, in order to avoid boundary disputes. Then each grazier had a tacit though not a declared right to take his cattle up into the Karoo, the next higher terrace, every year in the rainy season for a change of pasture. When he went he was accompanied by his whole family, who lived for two or three months in a great tent waggon, so that migratory habits were soon formed.

The result of this was a distaste for town or village life, with its restraints, and a passionate attachment to the freedom of semi-solitude. There was no necessity for a grazier to cultivate the ground, what grain he needed he could purchase more easily. His gun provided his household with game in the greatest variety, for hunting was his chief pleasure, and the country swarmed with wild animals. Dried meat, indeed, was the principal article of diet in many households. Every year now saw an expansion of the European settlement by men and women with habits formed under these conditions, until three decades before the close of the eighteenth century the Fish River was reached on the east and the highest ridge of the interior on the north.

This advance was not made, however, without encountering obstacles on the way. The Hottentots after the war with Gonnema gave little or no trouble, but the Bushmen proved themselves very active and determined enemies. They seized every opportunity of stealing and killing the graziers' cattle, and not only attacked and murdered single individuals, but even ventured to lay siege to the lonely dwellings of the European intruders. Fortunately they were

not numerous within fifty miles from the coast, because the Hottentots, with whom they were perpetually at war, had either driven out or destroyed most of them there, but when the Karoo and particularly the country still farther inland was reached, where no Hottentot had ever lived, too many were found to make occupation easy.

It was necessary then for parties of from twenty to a hundred colonists to unite and form what was termed a commando, for the purpose of expelling the savages. It excites pity to consider what this meant, but there was really no other way of dealing with a race so utterly irreclaimable as these South African Bushmen. Efforts made by missionary societies and benevolent individuals in later years to induce them to adopt a settled mode of life have always proved fruitless, so that the question was not simply how they were to be treated, but whether their right to the country was of such a nature that civilised men ought not to enter it at all. The colonists answered the question in the same way that any other Europeans would have done, and as the wild people could only advance the argument of the poisoned arrow to that of the firelock, the conclusion was not in their favour. During the whole of the eighteenth century, however, they maintained the struggle, and its close found them still defiant along a great part of the mountain range from which on one side the water courses to the Orange River and on the other to the Indian Ocean. There they were making their last stand, and at times it seemed as if they were not making it in vain.

The Hottentots offered no resistance to the European advance, because a calamity almost as fatal as the war of extermination with the Bushmen had

overtaken them. In 1713 the smallpox made its first appearance in South Africa. Its ravages among the Europeans in Capetown were very great, but among the Hottentot tribes within two hundred miles of the capital they were appalling. A new and unknown deadly disease attacking any people without preparation for it is always terrible in its destructiveness, and in the case of the Hottentots, who lived in a state of filth without the simplest sanitary precautions, there was every cause for it to be particularly fatal. Whole kraals were swept away, without a single individual remaining. The very names of the tribes disappeared in the fatal visitation. In the colonial records one reads no more of feuds among them, or of powerful chiefs, or wealthy clans, but of an abject and broken-spirited remnant of a race, without tribal organisation, and looking up to the white men as their natural masters. Still by the government they were regarded as a free and independent people, and in the courts of justice no cognisance was taken of offences committed among themselves. It was only when the interests of Europeans were affected that they were made amenable to the Dutch laws.

The eastern tribes escaped the scourge, as it happened that they had no intercourse with the others at the time, and were thus sufficiently isolated until the summer heat destroyed the germs. But before the advancing wave of colonists reached them, in 1755 the same disease was introduced again, and on this occasion it spread to them and to the vanguard of the Bantu as well, causing widespread and terrible destruction of life. Every tribal title along the southern coast now disappeared, and the land to the Fish River was almost denuded of inhabitants and



lay open for occupation. In 1800 the Hottentots who were left east of the Gamtoos River still spoke their own language, but west of that stream the great majority used Dutch, which shows how complete the revolution in their condition had been.

In addition to the Bushmen, an obstacle to their security that the colonists had to overcome was the abundance of ravenous animals. The havoc wrought by lions among their horses and horned cattle, and by leopards, hyenas, and wild dogs so called among their goats and sheep, was very considerable, and they were not free from danger themselves. Owing to this circumstance, as soon as a boy was able to carry a gun he was taught how to use it, and no one thought of moving about unarmed. The descendants of Dutch gardeners and French vinedressers had become the most expert horsemen and most accurate marksmen in the world. They were so far from the source of supply that they could not afford to throw a single charge of powder away without hitting the object aimed at; this was one of the precepts impressed upon the lads.

Another circumstance that affected the character of the colonists, and caused them to differ from their kindred in Europe, was that they were slaveholders. Only a few years after the arrival of Mr. Van Riebeeck's party negro slaves were introduced from the west coast of Africa, and from that time onward they continued to be imported from Guinea, Mozambique, and especially from Madagascar. It was a grievous mistake that was thus made in admitting negroes into a country adapted for Europeans, but in doing so the Dutch only followed a custom then universal.

Where there are slaves in any part of the world,

their owners will do—perhaps it would be more correct to say can do—no manual labour. If they were to attempt to do so they would be despised by their inferiors, and all self-respect would speedily disappear. In the presence of negro slavery the South African colonists, like the planters in the southern states of the American Union, ceased to work with their hands, and became directors of the labour of others. The same effect too was produced in their households as in southern homes by the presence of African female servants: the love of tidiness and scrupulous cleanliness characteristic of the housewife in the Netherlands in many cases disappeared under the incessant strain of endeavouring to get coloured domestics to view such matters as if they had European eyes and noses.

But the presence of slaves had other effects than these. It deepened the pride of blood in the colonists, and helped to strengthen the feelings of self-reliance which other causes were doing so much to produce. It is not an exaggeration to say that it created an aristocratic feeling in an unlettered class of people, and gave them a code of honour they would otherwise have been without. There were indeed among them many men of what would be termed in Europe good birth, men who had been officers in the Company's service and who had been induced by the freedom and wild charm of life in the interior, or perhaps by the charms of some country maiden, to become South African colonists. Among the Huguenots also were several families connected with the richest blood of France. But when they once became farmers and burghers these distinctions disappeared, and it was only the existence of slavery that preserved for their children, and

created for all the others, a feeling of pride that prevented them from doing anything disgraceful in the eyes of their dependents. They were the masters, and on every occasion tried to make good their right to be respected as superiors.

The slaves upon the whole were fairly and kindly treated. There were exceptional cases certainly, in which power was scandalously abused, but no slave code in the world was milder than the Dutch. In early times it even provided for the enfranchisement of the negroes under extremely easy conditions, until experience proved that it was thereby bringing into being a class of worthless creatures. The free negro would only work to provide himself with the barest necessities of life, he put nothing by, and in sickness and old age depended wholly upon charity. When this was ascertained by experience, the law was modified so that no one could emancipate a slave who was infirm without making provision for his maintenance, or any other without furnishing ample security that he would not become a burden upon the poor fund. Mulattos, however, retained their right to freedom on coming of age, in virtue of their blood on the father's side. Excessive punishment by masters was not permitted, and when inflicted in disregard of the law, the slave could claim to be sold to some one else.

The slaves outnumbered the white population. A great many were held in Capetown, where it was a general custom for the best of them to pay their masters a stipulated sum daily and keep for themselves whatever they could earn beyond that amount. The labour on the wheat and wine farms was entirely performed by slaves, but the graziers owned very few, many of them indeed none at all.

Still another class of people had been introduced by the East India Company, who sent from Batavia a few hundred Javanese and natives of the farther Indian islands, condemned by the courts of justice for some crime either to perpetual slavery or to servitude for a fixed number of years. As the Cape was a place of banishment for Indian political prisoners, who were often accompanied by a troop of attendants, male and female, the Javanese slaves, when they acquired their liberty, were at once absorbed by a community distinct from all the others in the country. In religion these Indians were Mohame-dans, as their descendants, the so-called Cape Malays, are at the present day. They were high above the negroes in intellect, and were employed chiefly as mechanics in Capetown and as fishermen.

The colonists who became graziers and moved out into the wilds took their bibles and psalmbooks with them, but, of necessity at first and afterwards by choice, they were without other literature. There were no schools beyond the first range of mountains, and the only education children received was from discharged soldiers, who itinerated among the families that employed them, and taught their pupils to repeat the Catechism, to read the Bible, and to write a letter in a way. Of history, geography, arithmetic, or indeed any other subject in which instruction is usually given in primary schools, they were quite ignorant. The wheat and wine farmers were better off in this respect, for as they lived close to each other they could unite and engage better teachers, besides which some of them could make use of the church schools, after the middle of the eighteenth century four in number, at Stellenbosch, Paarl, Zwartland, and Roodezand. In Capetown a

school was established before the close of the century in which the Latin and French languages were taught, and it was customary with those who could afford it to send their sons to Europe to be educated at Leiden or Utrecht.

The different nationalities of the European population had become thoroughly fused. A man with a French name might really have less French blood in his veins than his neighbour with a Dutch name, so well had intermarriage done its work. The characteristics of the Netherlands predominated, particularly in the great influence of women in all matters, public or domestic. The language they used was Dutch, modified by the necessity of speaking in the simplest way to the coloured people. A few foreign words, Portuguese, Indian, and Hottentot, had been introduced, but a much greater change had been effected by shortening words through striking off final syllables and dispensing with grammatical rules. The article and the adjective had lost their inflections both for number and gender, and the verb was greatly simplified. The tone of voice, also, owing probably to the difference of climate, had lost the harshness observable in Europe. The Dutch Bible, however, remained understood, and its language was the language of the pulpit and the courts of law.

In the supreme government of the country the colonists had no part whatever. There was a governor appointed by the East India Company, who was assisted by a council composed of the eight officials of highest rank in the service. All the minor boards, of which there were several for different purposes, were dependent upon the governor and council. These boards, such as the orphan

chamber, the petty court of justice in Capetown, the council of militia, the heemraden, and the consistories, were self-perpetuating corporations in which the members who retired yearly were replaced from a double list of names sent to the supreme authorities for selection. There was a high court of justice, consisting of six servants of the Company and six burghers, the last named being appointed in the manner above described.

The whole of the vast territory occupied by Europeans was divided into four districts, the Cape, Stellenbosch, Swellendam, and Graaff-Reinet. In each of the three last named there was a magistrate termed a landdrost, who was assisted in important matters by a board of assessors selected from the burghers, and termed heemraden. Taxation was not very heavy, if there had been an adequate return for it, but the burghers complained that nothing whatever was done for the improvement of the country, and that their money was spent by the Company for its benefit, not theirs.

The civil servants were paid chiefly by fees and perquisites, and in consequence corruption was general. The Company was the sole wholesale merchant during the greater part of the century, and fixed its own prices not only upon what it disposed of but upon what it bought. The right of retailing many articles was sold as a monopoly to the highest bidder. Thus the colonists had substantial grievances, and they were not the men to submit quietly to what they regarded as oppression or wrong.

In the early years of the century they had appealed to the authorities in Holland against the tyranny of a governor who was abusing his office, and they had succeeded in obtaining the redress

they prayed for. At that time the East India Company had powerful opposition in the states general to contend with, and the directors were therefore very careful to do nothing that would give their adversaries a weapon to use against them. Oppression of its subjects of European blood would have been such a weapon, so they wisely dismissed the governor and his associates, and adjusted the complaints brought before them. The watchful eye upon the Company's doings kept by the states general was thus a security to the colonists against misgovernment.

But after the war between England and Holland at the time of the American Revolution this security ceased to exist. In that war the Dutch East India Company lost very heavily, many of its best ships with cargoes of great value were seized, four of them in a South African port, where another was burnt to prevent her capture; and this, added to the corruption of officials abroad, brought the once wealthy and powerful association to the verge of insolvency. The efforts of the states general were now directed to the prevention of its fall, which would be a serious disaster to the country, and when shortly afterwards delegates from the Cape arrived with a series of charges against the government they failed in obtaining anything that could be considered satisfactory.

Matters then went from bad to worse. Fresh taxes were levied, and above all inconvertible paper money, without any security whatever except the good faith of the Company to redeem it as soon as possible, was forced into circulation to the extent of over one million two hundred and sixty thousand dollars, of which about half was created as capital for a bank, to be lent to burghers on mortgage of

property, so that its interest would swell the revenue. The introduction of this paper, which was declared to be a legal tender, drove silver and gold out of circulation, and reduced the commerce of the country to the condition of barter. The troops in Capetown were paid with it, and were in consequence half mutinous. The farmers who were obliged to sell their cattle, their grain, and their wine, and to take it in return, were not less disaffected.

The eastern graziers had another, and to them still more serious grievance. In 1779 the colony was invaded by several Bantu clans, who crossed the Fish River without warning and spread themselves over a considerable extent of territory. They were not very powerful, however, and two years later the burghers, who were led by a man of ability in such warfare, named Adriaan van Jaarsveld, succeeded in driving them all back again.

In March, 1789, a much more formidable body crossed the boundary the second time, though their chiefs had promised to respect it, and took forcible possession of the country as far as the Bushman's River, which the colonists were compelled to abandon. The government, afraid of incurring expense by being forced to assist its subjects, sent a commission to induce the invaders to retire by making them presents, and when this failed, consented to their remaining where they were for a time. They then sent parties out to steal cattle, and this continued until May, 1793, when a band of exasperated burghers attacked one of their kraals in reprisal. A few days later the whole Bantu invading force was in motion, and swept over the country to Algoa Bay, burning the homesteads, driving off the cattle, and murdering all who could not escape.



A large commando now assembled, which the government placed under the direction of a man whose sympathies were with the enemy, and in whom the colonists had no confidence whatever. The school of thought, of which Rousseau was the chief teacher, which made simplicity, truthfulness, and purity attributes of barbarian life, had naturally very few adherents in South Africa, where people formed their opinions from experience; but by some perversity of mind Mr. Honoratus Maynier, who otherwise was a clever man, had adopted these views, and on every possible occasion acted in accordance with them. The graziers affirmed that their cattle had been driven over the Fish River and given into the care of a powerful chief while the marauders continued to plunder. The evidence they produced was overwhelming, but Ndlambe, the chief in question, affirmed that he was a friend of the white man, and denied having the cattle. Mr. Maynier, who believed a Kaffir to be incapable of falsehood and deception, was satisfied with this assurance, and thus the campaign from the first was doomed to failure.

There was some marching backward and forward, which under the circumstances was perfectly useless, and then Mr. Maynier, with the assistance of several persons sent by the government for the purpose, concluded an arrangement with the chiefs of the intruding clans by which they were permitted to occupy the territory along the coast between the Fish and Bushman's rivers until it should be convenient for them to return to their own country. They were to restore all the plundered cattle then in their possession, but as they had taken care to place these in Ndlambe's keeping beyond the boundary, very few were ever recovered. This was in November, 1793,

and it destroyed the last thread that attached the graziers to the East India Company.

In February, 1795, a number of the inhabitants of Graaff-Reinet assembled at the seat of magistracy, and expelled Mr. Maynier, who was landdrost. The government at Capetown attempted to negotiate with them, but to no effect, and they set about forming an independent administration of their own. Being without protection, they declared, they would no longer yield obedience or pay taxes to the East India Company. They elected Adriaan van Jaarsveld to be their military leader.

The people of the district of Swellendam followed the example of those of Graaff-Reinet. They too ejected their landdrost, and established an independent government with a body of elected representatives dignified with the title of the National Convention. A burgher named Jacobus Delpont was elected military leader. When it is remembered that the whole European population of the colony at this time did not exceed twenty thousand, and that less than half of these were resident in the two revolted districts, such proceedings seem almost ludicrous. But so weak was the government that it was unable to recover its authority, more especially as at that time it had to meet the attack of a foreign enemy.

## CHAPTER VII.

## FIRST ENGLISH OCCUPATION OF THE CAPE COLONY.

THE preceding chapters have been written for the purpose of defining the exact position of the various inhabitants of South Africa at the commencement of the nineteenth century, and in this manner to fix with certainty a point from which the progress of the country in later years can be measured. The word 'progress' is capable of different interpretations, so it will be well to explain the precise signification it will have in these pages. Mainly then it will mean

The increase in number of the civilised inhabitants,

Their advancement in character, morality, and education,

The increase of wealth and of commerce with other people beyond the sea,

The improvement of internal and external communication,

The amelioration of the form of government,

The extension of civilised authority over the native tribes, and

The raising of those people to a sphere of usefulness.

With the exception of what is implied in the first of these definitions, there was a very poor prospect before South Africa at the time to which events have

now been brought. The Dutch East India Company was insolvent, and was with the greatest difficulty bolstered up by the State until some way could be devised of winding up its affairs without ruinous consequences. Its promissory notes—for the paper money was nothing else—constituted the only circulating medium in the Cape Colony. A considerable portion of the territory claimed and once occupied by white people was in possession of barbarian invaders. Nearly half of the burghers were in open rebellion, and the remainder were almost equally disaffected. A military force of a few hundred men was all that could be supplied for the protection of Capetown, and most of these were foreign mercenaries whose fidelity could not be depended upon.

In Europe, Great Britain and the new French republic were at war. In the Netherlands there were two factions bitterly opposed to each other: one adhering to the stadholder and in favour of alliance with England, the other in favour of a democratic government and alliance with France. The entrance of a strong French army into the Dutch provinces during the severe winter of 1794–5, when the rivers were all hard frozen and the whole territory was like a highway, settled the dispute. The democratic, or patriot party as it was called, welcomed the invaders and established a government to its liking; the stadholder and a few of his friends fled to England, and the Orange party was utterly overthrown.

A British expedition was at once prepared to seize the Cape and prevent it from being occupied by the French or their allies the patriot Dutch. Its position in a strategical point of view was so important, commanding as it did the ocean road to the East,

that both the great combatants recognised in it the key of India. British naval supremacy, it must be remembered, was not then assured, thus it was a question of the utmost importance who should first appear in Table Bay.

So urgent was this matter deemed that a strong squadron of ships of war under Admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone was hurried away with only a single regiment of soldiers on board, while the necessary preparations were being made to despatch a more competent land force under Major-General Alured Clarke. In June, 1795, the British fleet arrived in Simon's Bay. Admiral Elphinstone and Major-General Craig at once invited the Cape government to receive them as friends whose only desire was to assist in the defence of the colony against the French, and they produced a mandate from the fugitive stadholder to that effect.

Mr. Sluysken, who was at the head of the government, hardly knew what to do. He and all the members of the council were warm adherents of the Orange party, but they felt that they could not consistently with their duty obey the commands of a prince who was in exile, and who issued his instructions in a foreign country. They did not know the condition of affairs in the Netherlands, and the British officers merely informed them that the French had conquered the country and were oppressing it grievously. So they tried to temporise until a Dutch ship should arrive with accurate intelligence. They professed to be friendly, and ordered provisions to be supplied, but declined to receive the troops.

The British officers then appealed to the burghers. They stated that the colony would only be occupied

until the ancient government of the stadholder was restored in Holland, that immense preparations were being made in Europe to expel the French and re-establish the legitimate authority, that there was every prospect of those efforts being successful, that in the meantime England could not run the risk of seeing her enemy and the stadholder's in possession of the Cape, and that it would be much better for the colonists to receive them as friends than to await General Clarke's arrival and an occupation by force of arms. They drew a picture also of what would happen if the French were to obtain possession, when their slaves would be set free, and the same dreadful scenes would be witnessed that had followed the emancipation in St. Domingo and Guadeloupe. Further, many commercial and other advantages were promised if they would unite with the English cause.

But the burghers, though disaffected towards their own government, were averse to submitting themselves and their country to foreign control. They repaired to Capetown in considerable numbers with arms in their hands, prepared to aid in preventing the British forces from obtaining possession of the capital. Even the republic of Swellendam, while asserting its claim to freedom from the misrule of the East India Company, sent a contingent under Commandant Jacobus Delpont to Mr. Sluysken's assistance. The sister republic of Graaff-Reinet, however, held aloof. There the suffering from the Kaffir invasion had been so great that reconciliation was not thought of, and the burghers vainly imagined that they could maintain their independence no matter what happened elsewhere.

The appeal by the British officers to the burghers

caused the government to alter its tone and talk bravely of resistance, though neither the commander of the troops nor the principal members of the council had any real intention of opposing the declared friends of the Prince of Orange. Simonstown was evacuated by the Dutch troops and most of the inhabitants, and was immediately occupied by the British. A camp was formed by the Dutch at Muizenburg, a very strong position on the road to Capetown, and then for several weeks nothing more was done on either side.

On the 7th of August General Craig with the soldiers, the marines of the fleet, and a large party of seamen marched to Muizenburg. Lieutenant Colonel De Lille, who was in command of the post, would not resist, but retired with the greater number of the regular troops, and the burghers with the few artillerymen who were left were swept away by the English charge. General Craig then took possession of the Dutch camp and stores, and two days later was reinforced by a few hundred soldiers from St. Helena. At this place he remained until the arrival of General Clarke on the 4th of September with three thousand troops.

As soon as these were landed the whole force moved on Capetown, meeting with very little resistance on the way except from the burghers, who were unable anywhere to make a firm stand. A few miles from their destination a flag of truce was met, with an offer of capitulation, and liberal terms being conceded, on the 16th of September, 1795, the colony was surrendered, and the dominion of the Dutch East India Company was a thing of the past.

Conquest such as this, however, did not give the victors a right to disturb existing institutions. Be-

sides the terms of the capitulation, which guaranteed to the burghers all their former rights and privileges, international custom required that as few changes as possible should be made until the position of the country was settled on the conclusion of peace. Progress therefore on any extensive scale must not be looked for at this period.

The only alteration that the form of government underwent was that a single individual holding the king's commission as governor took the place of the governor and council of former times. His proclamations had the force of laws, and his authority was only restrained by the necessity of reporting everything that he did to the secretary of state. Nearly all the high offices were now filled by Englishmen with large salaries, but places were found for those members of the old council who professed strong attachment to the British cause. Colonel De Lille also was rewarded with an office, and most of the soldiers whom he had commanded willingly put on British uniforms. So strong was party feeling between the Orange and patriot factions, that the gentlemen referred to felt no loss of honour in thus serving a government which was at war with their fatherland. From the soldiers, who were chiefly German mercenaries paid in irredeemable paper, nothing else could reasonably have been expected.

The paper money had been a cause of great anxiety to the colonists, as of course it would cease to have any value as soon as the East India Company fell, if no arrangement could be made regarding it. The British officers had therefore admitted an article in the terms of capitulation, by which all the lands and buildings belonging to the Company were pledged as security for its redemption. This would not have



availed much, however, as forts and public buildings could not be sold, but as the new authorities received the paper at its face value for taxes and all other payments, it continued current, and the apprehensions regarding it passed away. Major-General Craig, indeed, who was in command until Lord Macartney, the first English governor, arrived, finding himself in want of money, issued similar paper to the amount of a quarter of a million dollars, without any one objecting to it.

What changes were made in the method of administration at the beginning of this period were unquestionably improvements. The most obnoxious of the monopolies were done away with, a very provoking stamp tax on auction sale accounts was removed, and a popular board, termed the burgher senate, was created to perform municipal duties in Capetown which had previously been entrusted to a mixed body of burghers and civil servants. Shortly afterwards Lord Macartney purified the civil service greatly by attaching fair salaries to the various offices, and requiring all fees and perquisites—excepting in specified cases—to be paid into the public treasury. The large military and naval force employed at the Cape furnished an excellent market, so that the people would have had cause for satisfaction with the change that had taken place, had it not been for other circumstances.

When the government in Capetown capitulated, the district of Stellenbosch submitted at once to the British authorities, and shortly afterwards the republic of Swellendam made its peace also. The national convention retired of its own accord, and was replaced by the old district board of landdrost and heemraden. This was brought about by prom-

ises on the part of the British authorities to redress all grievances, and to establish such freedom of trade combined with personal liberty that general prosperity would be the result. The republic of Graaff-Reinet alone declined to submit. When General Craig sent Captain Bresler, who had been an officer in De Lille's regiment, there as landdrost, the people refused to receive him, and announced that they were determined to maintain their independence.

Circumstances changed, however, when an expedition sent from Holland to act against the English in the East fell into the hands of its opponents. It was commanded by Rear-Admiral Lucas, a man of no ability at all, who was appointed solely on the ground of his being an enthusiastic patriot. He put to sea with eight ships-of-war and an armed victualler carrying German troops who had been prisoners to the French. It was understood that he would be joined by a French squadron before reaching the Cape, but no place or date of meeting was agreed upon, everything being left to chance. The French arrived first, and without waiting for their allies kept on their course to Mauritius.

On the 6th of August, 1796, Admiral Lucas put into Saldanha Bay, with the expectation that the colonists would rise and join him. There was no possibility of their doing so, and finding himself disappointed, he made ready to sail on the 16th for Mauritius. On that day, however, he found himself between a much more powerful fleet under Admiral Elphinstone and a strong army under General Craig drawn up on the shore of the bay. He was informed that he must surrender unconditionally, and as there was no way of escape he did so. The ships were

added to the British fleet, the soldiers on board enlisted for duty in India, and most of the sailors entered the British service. The English officers could refer to the matter afterwards with truth as the arrival of Admiral Lucas with a reinforcement of ships and a fine body of recruits, who were much needed.

When this event was made known to the burghers in Graaff-Reinet, and that troops were about to march against them, they thought it would be the wisest course to submit, consequently when the land-drost Bresler was sent there the second time they received him with a fair amount of cordiality, and the administration of the independent republic was dissolved. Many of the graziers, however,—particularly those who had suffered most from the Kaffir invasion,—were only waiting a favourable opportunity to free themselves from outside interference again, and were confidently looking for aid from Java, whither one of their party—a man named Woyer—had gone. Woyer did not succeed in obtaining French assistance, as he had hoped, but a small vessel laden with military and other stores was sent from Batavia, upon his representations. It was intended that her cargo should be landed at Algoa Bay, then an almost unfrequented place, within easy reach of the graziers. The vessel met with heavy weather at sea, was obliged to put into Delagoa Bay to refit, and was seized there by the crew of an English ship aided by a few Portuguese. Thus all chance of a successful rising at that time came to an end.

Lord Macartney, the first English governor, was a man of great force of character, and as he was supported by a strong army and navy, his administra-

tion, which was free from the slightest taint of corruption, commanded general respect. But he had almost a horror of republican principles, and his hand was heavy upon all who were suspected of holding them. He required every man in the country to take an oath of allegiance to the king of England, under penalty of immediate banishment, and did not hesitate to quarter dragoons upon those who were in any way incautious in speech or conduct. A few individuals tried to evade taking the required oath, among them the former republican commandant of Swellendam, Jacobus Delport, who managed to keep in hiding for some months, but who was eventually apprehended and sent into exile. Being in ill-health, the governor sailed for England in November, 1798, leaving Major-General Dundas to act as head of the administration until a successor could be sent out.

At this period events in India required the army and navy to be strengthened rapidly, and the Cape was nearly denuded of soldiers and ships to meet the demand. A great fire in Capetown, which destroyed the commissariat magazines and stores, further weakened the hand of the government. The graziers who formed the extreme republican party in Graaff-Reinet, about one-third of the whole number, regarded the opportunity as favourable for rising. Communications were opened by their friends in Capetown with the French at Mauritius, and preparations for revolt were being made, when an accident precipitated their measures. The old commandant Adriaan van Jaarsveld was arrested on a summons from the high court of justice in Capetown to answer to a charge of having committed forgery, and was sent away from the seat of magistracy in a waggon

escorted by a few dragoons. A general amnesty for all past political offences had been granted by the government, but the graziers believed that the real cause of Van Jaarsveld's arrest was the part he had taken in former years, and that he would be banished as the other republican commandant Jacobus Delpont had been. A number of them assembled hastily, followed the waggon, and rescued the prisoner, after which they set about preparing to oppose any force that might be sent against them.

Upon tidings of the revolt reaching Capetown, General Dundas at once despatched as many soldiers as he could spare to suppress it. With them, most unfortunately, he sent the greater part of a Hottentot corps that had been raised by General Craig and was maintained in the British service. Hottentots had been enlisted and drilled by the Dutch East India Company twenty years earlier, and they had formed part of the garrison in 1795. Whether it was justifiable to use them as auxiliaries, with a much larger body of European troops, to oppose invaders, need not be discussed here; that it was at least imprudent in the highest degree to employ them as the principal part of an expeditionary force against a couple of hundred rebellious colonists is not open to doubt. There was hardly a white man in the country that was not shocked and exasperated by it.

The pandours, as these soldiers were commonly called, no sooner made their appearance in the district of Graaff-Reinet, than their countrymen, believing the war to be one between Hottentots and white people, rose in a body and commenced plundering the graziers on all sides. The first effect of this was that the rebel Europeans were paralysed. They

could not keep the field while their families were in such danger, so, with the exception of a few lawless characters among them who fled into the Kaffir country, they laid down their arms and surrendered. Eighteen were selected and sent to Capetown to be tried for high treason, and the others were fined on the spot and then released. Meantime one French frigate bringing volunteers from Mauritius to assist them was captured at sea, and another that reached Algoa Bay soon afterwards was beaten off by English ships that happened to be at anchor there. Of the prisoners sent to Capetown two were sentenced to death, and most of the others to very severe punishments, but these sentences were not carried out. They were confined in prison, where they remained four years, when a change of government took place, and they were restored to liberty.

What was now to be done with regard to the Hottentots? They had come to the British camp dressed in plundered clothes, carrying plundered guns and ammunition, and bringing with them spoil of all kinds, in the belief that they would be regarded as having acted meritoriously. The officer in command resolved to disarm them and let them go wherever they chose, but as soon as they became aware of this they fled and commenced war against the English as well as the Dutch.

To make matters worse, a great additional horde of Bantu at this eventful moment came streaming over the Fish River into the colony. The chief Ndlambe and his nephew Gaika were at war, the former had been beaten, and was fleeing with his adherents beyond reach of his enemy's assagais. A general coalition took place between the new invaders, the Bantu previously in the colony, and the

Hottentots, when strong plundering bands were sent out and the country was laid waste far beyond Algoa Bay. Some of the white women and children who could not escape in time were spared, but others with every grown up male that was overtaken were murdered. When endeavouring to reach Algoa Bay the little British force was fiercely attacked, but managed to cut its way through with the loss of sixteen men.

The farmers of the other districts were now called upon to take the field, and General Dundas himself hurried to the front with all the troops he could muster. He took Mr. Honoratus Maynier with him also, in case there should be an opportunity to negotiate with the enemy, for if it was possible by any means to put an end to the disturbances without further fighting he was determined to do it. English money and English troops were, in his opinion, too much needed elsewhere to be thrown away in a war with barbarians for the sake of a colony that might not be retained beyond the conclusion of peace in Europe. When he reached the scene of action the burghers were there ready to drive the whole horde over the boundary, but needing supplies and a fortified base to work from. The Kaffirs and Hottentots were quarrelling over the division of the spoil, and there was nothing more left within their reach to plunder.

Surely the wrong course was adopted when, instead of giving the word to advance, General Dundas sent Mr. Maynier to the chiefs to propose terms of settlement. It needed some nerve to undertake a mission like that, but Maynier was no coward, and he felt that his reputation as regarded the views which he held was at stake. He went

therefore on his mission, and as he offered the chiefs all the fruits of victory, they agreed to his proposals. They, Kaffirs and Hottentots, were to remain where they were, and neither party was thereafter to molest the other. Some presents were then delivered, and the envoy returned in triumph to the British camp, announcing the conclusion of peace.

The colonists were indignant, but were powerless in the matter. A few white soldiers and some pandours were sent to the village of Graaff-Reinet to protect the landdrost, and a fort was built on the shore of Algoa Bay and garrisoned; the remainder of the troops returned to Capetown. General Dundas himself subsequently described the proceeding as not so much a conclusion of peace as a withdrawal from war. Mr. Maynier was left behind as commissioner, with very extensive authority over the districts of Graaff-Reinet and Swellendam. Is it a matter for wonder that the frontier colonists, many of whom were now so impoverished that they were dependent upon game alone for food for their children, and who were mourning for their murdered relatives, should have felt a deadly hatred towards the commissioner and the government that employed him?

In December, 1799, Sir George Yonge arrived from England as governor. He was not possessed of either sound judgment or moderate ability, and no one has ever been able to ascertain how he came to be entrusted with an office of such importance. He allowed himself to be guided entirely by a couple of unscrupulous favourites, who exacted a price for every kind of patronage he had to bestow. With nearly the whole of the heads of departments he was not on speaking terms outside of office, and his administration was regarded by honest men,



English and Dutch, with aversion mingled with contempt. At length so many complaints, supported by incontestable proofs, reached England that he was dismissed, and in April, 1801, General Dundas again became acting governor. A commission was appointed to enquire into Sir George Yonge's conduct, when corruption of a scandalous kind, unparalleled at any previous period of the colony's history, was brought to light. It was proved to the hilt that the two favourites had thoroughly shaken the pagoda tree, but whether they kept the whole fruit for themselves or shared it with their patron could not be ascertained.

From this date until the end of the first British occupation nothing of importance occurred except in the unhappy district of Graaff-Reinet. There the colonists, subject to incessant depredations and outrages from the Kaffirs and Hottentots and finding the commissioner Maynier invariably taking the part of the barbarians, were at length goaded into utter desperation, and again rose in revolt. There was a very strong force in Capetown when this occurred, so General Dundas had no difficulty in sending three hundred soldiers under Major Sherlock to the front, and as many of the best men in the country were imploring that Mr. Maynier should be recalled, he acceded to their entreaties.

Major Sherlock arrived at the seat of magistracy in November, 1801, and found it closely invested by the burghers, but by this time he had ascertained the cause of the commotion. He therefore offered full pardon to all who would return to their allegiance, with a promise of redress of grievances, and an announcement that Mr. Maynier was no longer

in authority. The insurgents upon this dispersed at once, and the insurrection was over.

The government now made an attempt to reduce the marauding Hottentots to order. A tract of land near Algoa Bay was selected, and an offer was made to them that if they would go to reside there under the guidance of the Reverend Dr. Vanderkemp, the pioneer missionary of the London Society, they would be provided with food for several months and seed and implements for cultivating the ground. At the same time some burghers of Swellendam were called out to assist in punishing those who would not consent to this arrangement. The way the Hottentots complied was by sending a few hundred of their women and children to the location, and remaining at large themselves.

The assembled burghers therefore attacked one of their strongholds, but met with no success. A much larger number were then called to arms, and as the Kaffirs were at that moment particularly active in their depredations, it was necessary to attack them also. During several weeks the colonists were victors in every skirmish, and recovered over thirteen thousand head of their cattle, but on the 8th of August, 1802, their leader, a brave and able man named Tjaart van der Walt, was killed in an engagement. This loss disheartened them, and they dispersed immediately afterwards. The Kaffirs and Hottentots then had everything their own way. They swept over the country westward as far as the present village of George, pillaging, burning, and murdering all who could not make good their escape.

General Dundas could give the colonists no assistance. On the 27th of March, 1802, the treaty of

Amiens, which gave a short truce to the belligerents in Europe, was signed, and one of its conditions was that the Cape Colony was to be restored to the Batavian Republic, as Holland was then termed. In consequence of this the acting governor was collecting his troops at Capetown preparatory to their embarkation, and the village of Graaff-Reinet and Fort Frederick at Algoa Bay had to be abandoned. The fighting force of the whole of the country districts was, however, again called out and sent to the front. By this time the marauders had retired to the left bank of the Sunday River, and having secured all the spoil that was obtainable, professed a desire for peace. The Kaffirs offered to return to their own country as soon as they could, and the Hottentots offered to abstain from vagrancy, on condition of not being molested. The burghers, being almost without military supplies, and hoping for assistance from the new government, agreed to these terms on the 20th of February, 1803, the very day on which the transfer of the colony was effected, and the commando at once dispersed.

In December, 1802, the Batavian officials with some troops arrived at Capetown, and it was arranged that the colony should be formally restored in the evening of the 31st. Every preparation was accordingly made, most of the English soldiers were sent away, and the accounts were nearly all closed, when at noon on that day a sloop-of-war arrived with instructions to General Dundas to delay the transfer. Had her passage been ten hours longer she would have been too late. As it happened, the British force was still stronger than the Batavian, so no other resistance than a protest could be made to the orders from England being carried out. Matters remained

in suspense until the 19th of February, 1803, when further instructions were received to complete the transfer. This was accordingly done on the following morning, and the Dutch flag was again the symbol of authority in the Cape Colony.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE RULE OF THE BATAVIAN REPUBLIC.

THE government of the Batavian Republic was as different from that of the Dutch East India Company as light is from darkness. One had in view the benefit of a distant commercial association, the other the development of the country for its own advantage as well as for that of the fatherland. The colony was now a national possession, was to be fostered as such, and was to be treated with the greatest liberality. Two men of the highest character and ability were sent out: one, Mr. Jacob Abraham de Mist, an advocate, with the title of commissioner-general, to receive the country from the British officials and to make provisional arrangements for its administration, which were afterwards to form the basis of a charter; the other, Lieutenant-General Jan Willem Janssens, to be governor and commander-in-chief of the garrison.

The governor was assisted by a council of four members, of whom it was provided that at least one should always be a native of the colony. This was certainly not much, but it was something, especially as the councillors were not to be civil servants. The high court of justice was made independent of the legislative and executive branches of the administration, a position it had never occupied before. It consisted of a president and six members, all of them versed in law and unconnected with parties in

the colony. An attorney-general was appointed to prosecute in criminal cases.

All who have investigated the records of the high court during the administration of the East India Company are agreed that its decisions were in accordance with justice; but a court composed of men with little or no knowledge of law, dependent upon the government, and occupied chiefly with other duties, could not command the same respect as this tribunal established by the Batavian Republic. An English barrister, however, might not have found himself at home in it. He would have heard the code of Justinian quoted as fundamental authority, and if a question arose as to the right of appeal to Holland, it would have been decided by a decree of Philip the Second of Spain, issued in 1570 when he was sovereign of the Netherlands. The familiar spectacle of a jury would have been wanting, for that institution was as yet foreign to South Africa.

Perhaps the personal character of Mr. De Mist and General Janssens had as much to do with the popularity of the Batavian administration as the change for the better in the form of government. Both were at first far in advance of their time in the colony, as was natural in men who had passed through the recent stirring scenes in Europe. Mr. De Mist proved this by requiring marriages to take place before a civil court, and by attempting to establish unsectarian schools, both of which measures were distasteful to the great body of the people. He was past middle life, and found it difficult to adapt himself to the environment in which he was placed; but his affability, purity of conduct, and benevolent intentions made him respected by every one.

General Janssens was a younger and more flexible man. He had a singular power of commanding the confidence and regard of all with whom he came in contact, whether white people, Bantu, or Hottentots. The deep interest which he took in the prosperity of the colonists added to this confidence. He was not only attached to them, but he understood them, and acted on the principle that the sons of the Sea Beggars were men to be led, not to be driven. He never had a strong military force at his disposal, and soon after the renewal of the war in Europe he was obliged to send his best regiment to Java, but there were no disturbances of any kind while he was governor. From one end of the colony to the other the people were ready to aid him to the utmost of their ability to defend the country in case of need.

As soon as the necessary arrangements could be made in Capetown General Janssens visited the eastern frontier, where he met the chiefs of the Bantu intruders and the leaders of the marauding Hottentots. With the latter an agreement was made that the past was to be forgotten, that they were to be provided with locations of ample size to live upon, and that any of them who chose to take service with Europeans were to be protected from ill-treatment or fraud of any kind. For this purpose a peremptory order was issued that no Hottentot should be engaged by a European, except under written contract entered into in presence of a landdrost. The arrangement regarding locations or reserves was immediately afterwards carried out, and the Hottentots gave no further trouble. With the fickleness of their race, indeed, very few of them remained long on the locations, but they spent their time thereafter in service for short terms, alternating with

periods of residence at one or other of the mission stations established in different parts of the country, and which were practically Hottentot reserves. Nearly half a century passed away before they again took up arms against the white people.

The Hottentot regiment was transferred from the English to the Batavian service when the colony was restored to the Dutch. General Janssens regarded it as a serviceable corps and as an excellent school for training the most restless of the young men in orderly habits: he therefore raised it to a strength of five or six hundred rank and file. But he took care to keep it always quartered in the Cape peninsula, where it was in presence of his European troops, and not a pandour of them all was ever sent on service into the country.

With the Kaffir chiefs the governor spent three days in discussion. They were impressed with the fact that such harmony and unanimity existed between the colonists and the high authorities as had never been known before, and they were therefore earnest in their expressions of desire for peace and friendship. They acknowledged the Fish River as the boundary, and agreed to all the proposals made to them except that they should return at once to their own country. That they could not do, they declared, on account of the enmity of Gaika. The governor wished them to make peace with Gaika, but Ndlambe declined in emphatic terms. He and the other chiefs stated that they were about to attack their enemy, and if they were victorious they would move beyond the boundary at once, otherwise they must await a favourable opportunity to do so.

All negotiations on this point failed both with them and with Gaika, whom the governor also went



to see, and the only arrangement that could be made was that the intruders should not trespass beyond the Bushman's River and should leave the colony as soon as they could do so with safety. The governor unfortunately had not sufficient means to justify him in attempting to expel the invaders by force, and by no other means could the colony be freed from their presence. Thus the belt of country along the coast between the Fish and Bushman's Rivers could not be reoccupied, but elsewhere the graziers tried to resume their ordinary course of life, though it was difficult and dangerous to do so within reach of the Kaffir kraals. The war between Gaika and Ndlambe was carried on continuously, without decisive success on either side.

For the better administration of justice the colony was now divided into six districts, instead of four as previously. One of these, which was named Uitenhage, embraced the territory which the Kaffirs were occupying and its fringe on the north and west. A courthouse and other necessary buildings were erected in an excellent position for a village, and a military officer, who had also command of the garrison of Fort Frederick at Algoa Bay, was stationed there as landdrost. This gave the graziers along the coast much greater protection than they had when the nearest seat of magistracy was at Graaff-Reinet. The other new district was called Tulbagh, and embraced a very large area in the north-western part of the colony. In each of the country districts there was a landdrost, assisted by six heemraden, and the territory was cut up into wards under officers termed fieldcornets, whose duties were to settle petty disputes, to preserve order, and to lead the burghers in time of war.

Efforts to improve the system of agriculture, to introduce better breeds of cattle, and especially to replace the heavy-tailed sheep of the Cape with wool-bearing animals, were made by a commission of farmers under the auspices of the government; but there was not sufficient time before the ownership of the country was again changed to make much progress in that direction.

A scheme to plant a new settlement within the colony was set on foot in Holland by Mr. Gysbert Karel van Hogendorp, whose name was in later years intimately connected with the history of his country. He purposed to carry on farming operations and the preparation of timber on a large scale in the beautiful tract of land bordering on Plettenberg's Bay and the Knysna, and to send out artisans and labourers to carry on the work, who after a fixed period of service should have ground assigned to them and be assisted on credit to establish themselves as independent farmers. There were to be no slaves in the new settlement. The government favoured the scheme, but misfortune attended every step made towards carrying it out. The first party of thirty labourers arrived safely, with an obstinate individual full of self-conceit at their head, who wrecked their prospects completely. A second party was sent by way of America on account of the war, and abandoned the enterprise there instead of going on. Next two vessels laden with goods and implements for the settlement were lost, and lastly the colony was conquered by the English, which brought the matter to an end. Mr. Van Hogendorp was many thousand dollars out of pocket, and South Africa had reaped no advantage beyond the introduction of a few settlers.

The commerce of the country was not at this time as great as during the first British occupation, because, first, the garrison and fleet of war were much smaller and fewer passing ships called, consequently the demand for provisions was less; and secondly, the slave trade, which during the former period flourished greatly, now ceased. The Batavian Republic was opposed to the institution, and if the government had not changed hands again gradual emancipation would very shortly have been commenced. The colonists had full liberty to carry on commerce with any part of the Dutch dominions, upon payment for revenue purposes of three per cent. of the value of goods imported; but there was not time to open up any considerable trade over sea.

And now on the eve of the permanent occupation of the colony by Great Britain we turn to the census then taken, and learn that the European inhabitants, exclusive of soldiers, were twenty-six thousand in number. They owned twenty-nine thousand five hundred slaves, and had in their service under voluntary agreements twenty thousand Hottentots and mixed breeds. How many Hottentots there were not in service it is impossible to say, for no notice was taken of them by the census framers.

Capetown had risen to be a place of importance. It contained, besides public buildings of various kinds, over twelve hundred houses and stores, and had a population of six thousand three hundred Europeans, nine thousand one hundred slaves, and sixteen hundred Asiatics and free blacks.

On the 12th of May, 1803, the short cessation of hostilities that followed the treaty of Amiens came to an end, and Great Britain was again at war with France and her satellite the Batavian Republic.

From the moment that this intelligence reached General Janssens he devoted himself to putting the colony in a condition for defence, as no one doubted that sooner or later it would be attacked. His means were very limited. He was obliged to send his choicest troops to Java, and the whole military force that remained at the end of 1805 was only between fifteen and sixteen hundred men, of whom eighty were stationed at Algoa Bay. With these and the Hottentot corps he could barely garrison the different forts in the Cape peninsula, so that he had no troops to take the field. His main dependence was upon the burghers. There were only two Dutch vessels of war on the station, one a mere tender, the other a ship of the line, which was laid up in Simon's Bay for want of stores to keep her in service.

Two years elapsed from the renewal of the war before England found herself in a position to fit out an expedition against the Cape. Besides the motive which induced her to take possession of the country in 1795, which was being strongly brought to mind just now by the havoc caused by French privateers using Table Bay as their base, there was another. The value of South Africa as a seasoning station for troops destined for India had been proved, and such a station was wanted at that time more than ever before. The British authorities therefore determined to seize the colony and to keep it. Even before it was in their possession, while the expedition was on its way out, the British representative at the court of Prussia was officially informed that to secure peace England might consent to abandon other conquests, but the question of the restitution of the Cape of Good Hope and the island of Malta must not so much as be discussed.

The force prepared to effect the conquest was so powerful that no doubt of its success could be entertained. It consisted of seven regiments of the line, a regiment of dragoons, nearly five hundred artillerymen and engineers, and several hundred recruits destined for India. These were embarked in a fleet of over sixty sail, of which nine were men-of-war acting as protectors. Lieutenant-General Sir David Baird, who had once served in South Africa for nearly a year, was in command of the troops, and with him were many officers well acquainted with the country in the neighbourhood of Capetown.

In the evening of the 4th of January, 1806, this great armament arrived at the entrance of Table Bay, and came to anchor between Robben Island and the mainland. An attempt to land was immediately made, in order to take the garrison by surprise before the burghers could arrive from the country districts, but the surf was beating heavily on the coast, and the next day nothing could be done. During the night of the 5th a regiment of the line and the dragoons were sent to Saldanha Bay, and the remainder of the transports would have followed on the 6th had not the surf subsided so much as to make landing practicable. Six regiments were then set ashore in a little cove sixteen miles from Capetown, and being joined by the artillerymen and a contingent of seamen drawing the guns, moved towards the capital.

While this was taking place alarm signals were made from station to station throughout the country, and the burghers were assembling as rapidly as possible, but it was the hottest time of the year, and they could only ride at night. They were further at a great disadvantage from want of provisions. The

crops of the preceding season had failed through drought, and the government had been unable to lay up a supply of grain. At that moment there was not more than a week's consumption of breadstuffs in Capetown. The crops of that season were good, though as the wheat was then only being threshed, the scarcity was not over.

Apart from other reasons, it was thus impossible for General Janssens to hold out in Capetown. He was threatened by the main English army, under Sir David Baird, marching down the coast, the detachment under Brigadier-General Beresford marching from Saldanha Bay, and the fleet under Commodore Sir Home Popham, which might at any time attack the town. Under these circumstances he drew between twelve and thirteen hundred trained soldiers from the different forts, replacing them with burghers, and after adding to this field force about eight hundred auxiliaries, burgher and other, he proceeded to meet Sir David Baird.

On the 8th of January, 1806, the two armies confronted each other on the plain at the foot of Blueberg. The Waldeck battalion of German mercenaries, that formed the centre of the Dutch line, declined to fight with such odds against them, and fled at the commencement of the action. Most of the remainder of General Janssens' force stood their ground for a time, inflicting and sustaining heavy loss, but were soon overpowered and driven back. The fugitives rallied at Rietvlei, where they had passed the preceding night. The general then sent the Waldeckers to Capetown, and retired with the remainder of his army to the mountains of Hottentots-Holland. On the 10th the town capitulated and was taken in possession by the British forces,

the vanguard of the column from Saldanha Bay, that had met with no opposition, arriving at the same time.

And now what could the Dutch general do? He had with him about seven hundred European troops, part of the Hottentot corps, faithful to the last, and a few hundred burghers. He could not hold out long where he was, being almost without stores, so there were only two courses left, to surrender or to retire into the interior of the country till France or Holland could send him relief. The latter course, however, would cause such destruction of property and misery to the colonists that he rejected it, though he had a difficulty in inducing those of them who were with him to return to their homes and leave him to his fate. His position was of use in obtaining liberal terms. He was obliged to give up his arms and public property of every kind, but was sent back to Holland with his officers and soldiers at the expense of the British government, without their being considered or treated as prisoners of war.

## CHAPTER IX.

## EVENTS FROM 1806 TO 1814.

THE colony was now permanently a British possession, for while the expedition under Sir David Baird was on its way out the battle of Trafalgar was fought, which secured the title deeds. If that battle had given France, instead of England, command of the seas, the favourable result of the skirmish at Blueberg could only have had a temporary effect, as the position of the Cape was such that it could not long be held against the nation that controlled the road to it. International custom indeed required that until the conclusion of peace no important change should be made in connection with its internal government, or any measure be introduced that would subvert the existing condition of the people, but that was in general overlooked.

It is a grand thing to form part of a great empire. Every vigorous individual in the British dominions has a wider range of thought, a larger field to work in, and a deeper sense of security than the resident in a small and weak state. The position of the Netherlands at the beginning of the nineteenth century with regard to other European countries was very different from what it had been when the Cape Colony was young. In 1672 the republic was able to contend successfully on the sea with France and England combined; in 1806 she was of little importance as a naval power compared



with either, so that South Africa must always have been insecure if it had remained in her possession. This every Englishman believes, but Dutchmen, though so near in blood and character, were of a different turn of mind.

The history of the fatherland was the history of a number of little almost independent provinces, loosely united, jealous of each other, and often only kept together by outside pressure. The thoughts of the people did not run in the direction of a great dominion, and though they had acquired extensive dependencies beyond the seas, there never was any imperial spirit among them, using the word imperial in its present signification. The South African colonists held the same ideas as all others of their race. They attached no value to the new connection, and regretted intensely their subjection again by a foreign power. But they recognised clearly that resistance was useless, and would be productive of nothing but misery, so with as little show of ill-feeling as possible they submitted to the conqueror.

Sir David Baird remained at the head of the government until January, 1807. He made the great mistake of sending an expedition under Brigadier-General Beresford and Commodore Sir Home Popham against Buenos Ayres without the approval of the authorities in England, and as soon as this became known Lieutenant-General Henry George Grey was directed to proceed to the Cape to supersede him. The Earl of Caledon, who was then appointed governor, arrived in May, 1807.

In several respects it seemed as if retrogression, not progress, was now the order of the day. There was no longer a council to advise and restrain the governor, who was left to act as he pleased, subject only

to the instructions of the secretary of state. The high court of justice was deprived of its independence, and—with the exception of the president—was made to consist of civil servants or other persons subject to removal at the pleasure of the governor. The marriage ordinance of Commissioner De Mist was repealed, and the performance of the ceremony by a minister of religion was made obligatory in all cases. Upon the whole, however, the administration was benevolent, and there was a real desire to benefit the colonists if they would only agree with English ideas as to what were advantages.

With the conquest of the colony the slave trade was reopened, but only five hundred negroes were brought in before the parliament of Great Britain in March, 1807, passed an act prohibiting British ships and British subjects from engaging in the abominable traffic. This, however, did not by any means put an end to the introduction of black people into the Cape Colony. Thereafter all ships with slaves on board belonging either to British subjects or to subjects of any country at war with Great Britain captured in the southern seas by British cruisers were brought into Table Bay for condemnation by the court of admiralty, when the negroes were apprenticed to white people for a few years, after which they were set at liberty to get a living as best they could. The wheat and wine farmers were glad to obtain them as labourers, without reflecting upon the consequences for all time to the country of thus increasing a class of people incapable of high civilisation, or of the danger of mixture of blood. From these prize negroes, so-called, a great many of the present coloured inhabitants of the colony, black, mulatto, and quadroon, are descended.

In 1808 there was an insurrection of a few hundred slaves in the wheat-growing district near Capetown, instigated by a white man and a quad-roon. It was easily and speedily suppressed, however, when five of the leaders were hanged in chains and seventeen others were severely punished. There had been many instances before of slaves deserting from service and forming themselves into robber bands, and there were instances earlier and later of slaves murdering their masters, but this was the only occasion on which any considerable number ever rose in revolt. It is noticeable that they shed no blood, though they pillaged several houses, and that at many places where they appeared the people of their own class refused to join or aid them in any way.

In 1809 the Earl of Caledon brought the whole of the Hottentots in the colony into legal subjection to the government. Previous to this date they had been regarded as an independent people, entitled to govern themselves, and free to wander at will over any part of the country that was not occupied by Europeans. In places where the white inhabitants were numerous reserves had been set apart for their use, in which they were supposed to be under the authority of their own leaders. This was the legal aspect of their condition, but it was very far from being their actual state, which was one of anarchy. There was hardly a Hottentot who did not respect the lowest white man as being superior to his own nominal chief or captain, and far the greater number of them acknowledged no head at all except the farmers in whose service they might be for the time.

The proclamation of the Earl of Caledon made them subject to the courts of justice exactly as other

residents in the country, required them to have a fixed registered place of residence, and ignored any other authority over them than that of the colonial government. It placed restrictions upon their vagrant habits, and regulated the mode of their entering service, but extended to them the most complete protection possible. An impartial observer would surely say that this measure was one of the greatest advantage to the Hottentots. A few small parties of them indeed moved out of the colony into Great Namaqualand rather than submit to the loss of their independence, but they could hardly be expected to realise what was in truth best for themselves.

Yet from missionaries of the London Society opposition to the measure arose. It interfered with what they regarded as native rights, and it ignored the absolute equality of men of all races, which they were constantly proclaiming, for it imposed restrictions upon Hottentots from which Europeans were free. A protest was raised by them against it in England, where a wave of intense and praiseworthy—though to some extent misguided and indiscreet—interest in the coloured races of the world was beginning to roll over the land. Fortunately for the Hottentots the protest was not successful until nineteen years later, and during the interval these people acquired a little experience in settled habits, which prevented them from falling into complete destruction when Lord Caledon's proclamation was replaced by a less judicious enactment.

The Hottentot regiment in the service of the Batavian Republic was disbanded when General Janssens capitulated, but Sir David Baird immediately raised another, composed chiefly of the same individuals. The men were allowed to have their wives

and children with them, and these were provided with rations at the public expense, otherwise it was said the corps could not be kept up. It would have been better for the morality of these people if the corps had not been kept up, for, judging from the reports of the officers of the regiment as well as the statements of outsiders, their mode of living was indescribably vile. In service with farmers they would have been obliged at least to conduct themselves more decently. Had the regiment been kept in the Cape peninsula better order might have been preserved, but after a short time it was sent into the country, to its own detriment and to the great irritation of the colonists.

In September, 1811, Lieutenant-General Sir John Francis Cradock became governor, the first of a long series of military veterans who filled that office. Upon his arrival he found awaiting him a report from the landdrost of Uitenhage, in which he was informed that there was then only one farm occupied east of the seat of magistracy, and that if the Bantu intruders were not expelled the district must be abandoned by the government. Gaika and Ndlambe were still at war, but that did not prevent the Kafirs in the colony from stealing the white man's cattle wherever they could be reached, though by doing so they knew they were laying themselves open to attack on another side.

Lord Caledon, who objected to incur the expense of war,—which must have been borne by Great Britain, as the revenue of the colony was inadequate to meet the charge,—had done all that was possible to conciliate them, but in vain. They could not be induced to remain east of the Sunday River, but sent foraging parties out almost as far as Plettenberg's

Bay, and even commenced to build kraals west of the Gamtoos. It was evident that if they were not driven back by force no part of the colony would be secure against their intrusion. A military officer who was sent to inspect the country on both sides of the boundary reported that between the Fish River and the Kei the only inhabitants were Gaika's adherents, who occupied a mere slip of ground along the base of the Amatola mountains, so that there was plenty of room for ten times the number of Kaffirs then in the colony. To drive them back also would not be forcing them upon Gaika's assagais, for that chief was no stronger than they were, and as far as he was concerned their condition would not be altered.

The new governor therefore determined to eject the intruders, and in October, 1811, a strong burgher force was summoned to arms. Some European troops were sent to form a line of posts along the Sunday River as a base of operations, from which the burghers and the Hottentot regiment could advance and drive the Kaffirs before them. Lieutenant Colonel John Graham, who commanded the Hottentot regiment, had control of the operations, but before applying force he was instructed to endeavour to induce the intruders to return to their own country without bloodshed. An attempt to hold a conference with the leading chiefs was therefore made. Major Cuyler, landdrost of Uitenhage, with a few farmers, rode to a kraal by previous arrangement to hold a parley, and was informed by Ndlambe that the country was his, as he had won it in war, and that he intended to keep it. On a signal from the chief two or three hundred warriors rushed towards the landdrost and his party, who owed their escape solely to the fleetness of their horses.

At another place Mr. Andries Stockenstrom, landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, made a similar trial. The Kaffirs whom he met spoke so civilly that he was thrown off his guard, and against the advice of the farmers with him he dismounted, sat down on the ground, and carried on a conversation for half an hour, during which time the party was stealthily surrounded. When this was effected a rush was made, and the landdrost, eight farmers, and the half-breed interpreter were stabbed to death. Four others were wounded, but managed to escape.

Military operations were then commenced, and the burghers, finding the government in earnest, set themselves to their task with alacrity. The country, being full of thickets, was difficult to operate in, but one after another the strongholds were cleared, and before the end of February, 1812, the whole of the Kaffirs, about twenty thousand in number, were driven over the Fish River. To prevent their return a line of military posts was established from the sea to the second range of mountains, through the territory they had occupied, and was garrisoned partly by European troops, partly by burghers who were relieved at short intervals, and partly by pandours. The headquarters of the troops were at a place to which the name of Grahamstown was given, in honour of the commanding officer.

This important event was unfortunately followed by an occurrence that destroyed its good effect, as far as attachment of the people to the British authorities was concerned, and that created an irritation which was not forgotten or allayed till the generation then existing had passed away. This occurrence was "the black circuit," as it was ever afterwards termed in South Africa. Lord Caledon

had established a system of sending periodically two or more members of the high court of justice on circuit through the colony, for the purpose of trying important cases, ascertaining whether the landdrosts performed their duties correctly and impartially, inspecting the district chests and buildings, and reporting upon the condition of the people and all matters affecting public interests.

In 1811 this system came into operation. The first circuit was made by three judges, who tried twenty-one criminal cases, in which the proceedings were conducted with open doors, and no distinction was made between persons of different races or colour either as accusers, accused, or witnesses. There was nothing but satisfaction expressed with the establishment of a court such as this, and everywhere the judges were received with the utmost respect.

But before the termination of the first circuit Sir John Cradock received a despatch from the secretary of state, in which was enclosed a copy of a letter from the Reverend Mr. Read, of Bethelsdorp, to the directors of the London Missionary Society, and published by them in England. In this letter the missionary complained that the Hottentots were subject to inhuman treatment from white people, and that the Earl of Caledon and Landdrost Cuyler were alike deaf to their cry for justice. He asserted that upwards of a hundred murders had been brought to the knowledge of Dr. Vanderkemp and himself in the district of Uitenhage alone. The secretary of state instructed the governor to have these terrible charges thoroughly investigated, and to see that stringent punishment was inflicted upon perpetrators of outrages.



Accordingly every possible effort was made to put facilities in the way of Hottentots bringing forward their grievances. Landdrost Cuyler, who was an American loyalist and prided himself on his integrity and justice, considered his honour at stake, and was most anxious that even petty assaults should be looked into, in order that the assertions of the missionary might be thoroughly tested.

The Reverend Mr. Read was aided by other members of his Society to get as many cases as possible ready for the next circuit court. He, too, was on his mettle, as it was necessary for him to show that he had grounds for what he had written. All the stories of the years of discord and war between the colonists and the Hottentots were therefore brought forward, and the court was furnished with a fearful roll of charges.

In September, 1812, two judges left Capetown to hold the sessions in the three eastern districts. At that time it was part of the duty of the landdrosts to act as public prosecutors when charges of crime committed within their districts came before a superior court. But in this circuit an advocate was directed to accompany the judges, and prosecute in the cases brought forward by the missionaries. This departure from the usual course of proceedings was made at the urgent request of Landdrost Cuyler, and in order that everything possible should be done to secure a thorough investigation.

More than one-third of the male inhabitants of the frontier districts who were capable of bearing arms were in garrison in the stockaded posts that had been constructed to prevent the Kaffirs from invading the colony again. Fifty-eight members of their families—male and female—were required to stand a trial

before the circuit court, and over a thousand witnesses—European, black, and Hottentot—were summoned to give evidence. The whole country was in a state of commotion.

It was nearly four months before the session came to an end. The greater number of the charges were proved to be without foundation, and in nearly all the others there were either mitigating circumstances or the offences really committed had been of a trivial nature. The character of the governor, the landdrost, and the colonists was completely cleared.

But it was of no use telling the people that the trials had shown the missionaries to have been the dupes of idle storytellers. The extraordinary efforts made to search for cases and to conduct the prosecutions appeared in their eyes as a fixed determination on the part of the English authorities to punish them if by any means a pretext could be found. If it were not so, they asked, why were not charges made by them against Hottentots followed up in the same manner? As for the missionaries of the London Society, they were thereafter regarded by the great bulk of the colonists as pernicious fomenters of disturbances, whose dealings with the coloured people could only be productive of evil, and it seemed almost like blasphemy to speak of them as Christian teachers.

During this period the number of magistrates was considerably increased. The boundaries of the colony were not extended, but in 1811 the territory was divided into seven districts, instead of six as previously. The new district received the name of George, from the reigning king, and was provided with a landdrost and board of heemraden like the others. Deputy landdrosts were stationed at Clan-

william in 1808, at Caledon in 1811, and at Grahamstown and Cradock in 1812. In 1809 Simonstown was provided with a magistrate termed a deputy fiscal.

New churches of the Dutch reformed communion were established, at Caledon in 1811 and at George in 1812, and clergymen of the English Church were stationed at Capetown and Simonstown. The Moravian Society, whose admirable work in improving the coloured people was acknowledged alike by the government, passing strangers, and the colonists, opened a new station at Mamre in 1808, on a tract of land given by Lord Caledon for the purpose, which bordered on an old Hottentot reserve. Missionaries of other denominations objected to their system on the ground that they kept their pupils under tutelage to such an extent as to interfere with freedom of action, but that was just what was most approved by thoughtful observers who admitted that people emerging from barbarism require constant guidance and control. The London Society had several stations beyond the northern border and within the colony Bethelsdorp near Algoa Bay, Zuurbrak and Pacaltsdorp at two Hottentot reserves, and Theopolis on a tract of land in the territory from which the Kaffirs had been expelled, granted by Sir John Cradock for the purpose of relieving Bethelsdorp, which was overcrowded.

The country for a considerable distance beyond the boundary of the colony was explored, and accurate intelligence was obtained of all the native tribes as far north as the Molopo River. An expedition under Dr. Cowan and Lieutenant Donovan, who had with them a colonist named Kruger, a halfbreed, and twenty Hottentot soldiers, passed that stream in an

attempt to reach Mozambique, but perished somewhere in the interior, and nothing certain regarding their fate was ever ascertained.

Sir John Cradock devoted a good deal of attention to increasing the means of education, and during his term of office a number of free primary schools were established in Capetown with funds raised by means of public subscription.

This governor altered the system of tenure under which the graziers held their lands, a measure which was beyond question of great advantage to the country, though at the time it caused much dissatisfaction, on account of its being an innovation as well as because it involved extra charges upon the holders. The new regulation provided that all farms were to be surveyed at the cost of the occupants, that none were to exceed six thousand acres in extent, that quitrent according to the value was to be paid upon each, and that title deeds were to be issued to secure to the proprietors permanent possession. This was surely a better system than that of holding ground on yearly lease from the government, as it encouraged the improvement of estates and the construction of better dwellings.

In December, 1810, the French island of Mauritius was conquered by a joint expedition from India and the Cape, and any apprehension of danger from that quarter—which was not great—was dispelled. The island has ever since remained a dependency of Great Britain.

The disasters sustained by the Emperor Napoleon during and immediately subsequent to his invasion of Russia were followed by a revolution in the Netherlands, when the Orange party again came to the front. In November, 1813, a provisional gov-

ernment was formed, and on the 1st of December the exiled stadholder, after a residence in England of nineteen years, landed at Scheveningen and was received by the Dutch people as their sovereign. The Belgic and Batavian provinces were then united, and the Prince of Orange became king of the entire Netherlands.

The new monarch found the country temporarily exhausted, while the need for money was urgent. The people were in a state of lethargy, and, provided they could recover their former possessions in the Indian seas, seemed to care little about the fate of the other colonies that had once been under their flag. England too was determined not to restore the Cape of Good Hope or the better part of Guiana, but was willing to pay a considerable sum for their formal cession, so that the choice lay between the money or nothing, the colonies in either case being lost. Under these circumstances in August, 1814, the King of the Netherlands ceded to Great Britain the settlements of the Cape in South Africa and of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice in South America, and received in return the sum of twenty-eight million eight hundred thousand dollars or six million pounds sterling.

It was stipulated, however, that Dutch colonists in the ceded countries should be at liberty to carry on trade with the Netherlands, and that Dutch ships should have the right of resorting freely to the Cape of Good Hope for refreshment and repairs, on the same conditions as English vessels. In this manner Great Britain acquired full dominion over the Cape Colony, and her right to it has never since been challenged by any power.

## CHAPTER X.

## THE SLAGTER'S NEK INSURRECTION.

THE formal cession altered the position of Great Britain towards the colony in this respect only, that the terms of the capitulations of Capetown and of the troops under General Janssens had no longer the same legal force as before, and whatever alterations the ruling power desired could now be made without any breach of international custom. There was no wish, however, on the part of the English government to act harshly—as the ministry interpreted that word—towards the colonists, though they were not consulted in any way in the arrangements that were made, and the object of the policy pursued was to anglicise them as rapidly as possible. They were only a little over thirty thousand in number, and it seemed absurd that such a small body of people should be permitted to perpetuate ideas and customs that were not English in a country that had become part of the British empire. Already Sir John Cradock had issued a notice that no one who did not understand the English language would thereafter be appointed to any post in the civil service.

But these thirty thousand individuals possessed a tenacity of purpose not exceeded by any people on the face of the earth, and they had the power in a very high degree of assimilating and incorporating strangers of other nationalities, so that they were rapidly increasing in number. They could be led to

any good, as General Janssens observed in the last document he wrote in South Africa, but, though they might be crushed by superior force, they could not be driven by anything short of that in a direction that they did not choose to take.

Great Britain had therefore a task in governing the Cape Colony different from that in any of her other foreign possessions. She had many slave-holding settlements, but no other in which there was at the same time a very difficult native problem to be solved. She had other settlements founded by foreign nations, but none in a condition like the Cape. In Canada the French were almost confined to the province of Quebec, so that purely or almost purely English communities could be planted in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Ontario. To the French could be left their language, their laws, their customs, all that they prized, yet they could enter into union with the other provinces just as the German, French, and Italian cantons of Switzerland are united in one republic. In the Cape Colony, on the contrary, if the tract of country from which the Kaffirs had been expelled be excluded, there was no spot to which English emigrants could be sent where they would not have to mix with the earlier occupants.

In this condition of things, as each nationality would naturally strive to follow its own instincts and traditions, there would be perpetual rivalry if it were not for one fortunate circumstance. The Afrianders were so close to the people of Great Britain in blood that intermarriages began to take place as soon as the two people were brought together. Sir John Barrow himself, the Englishman who after a short residence wrote in harsher terms of the Dutch colonists than any one has ever since done, five years later

when he returned to his own country took with him an Afrikaner wife. The Scotch in particular found no difficulty in allying themselves with Dutch families, the form of religion as well as many customs being identical. This mixture of blood was the true and only solution of the difficulty that arose when Great Britain became mistress of the Cape Colony, but it would need a long time to effect a complete fusion, and while it was taking place friction would be unavoidable, though that might have been greatly reduced if the government had acted more on the leading and less on the driving principle.

A few months before the cession Sir John Cradock was succeeded as governor by Lieutenant-General Lord Charles Henry Somerset, a son of the Duke of Beaufort and an elder brother of Lord Raglan, who commanded the British forces in the Crimean war. He was not only an extreme Tory in principle, but despotic by disposition, and intolerant of opposition of any kind. At the same time he was possessed of considerable ability. He took a very warm interest in the improvement of agriculture and the introduction of better breeds of cattle, and by establishing a model farm on the site of the present village of Somerset East and extending the work done by the old commission of agriculture he effected much good. The commission, however, he dissolved, and took upon himself the direction of its affairs. As the colonial funds were low, at his own expense he imported horses of a suitable kind, from which remounts were bred for the English army in India, and thus a new source of profit was opened to the farmers.

Lord Charles Somerset found the graziers of the eastern districts in a discontented condition. Be-



sides the ill-feeling caused by the black circuit and the increased taxation arising from the new land tenure, there was a fresh and well-founded grievance in the increase of the Hottentot regiment to eight hundred rank and file, and the stationing of this corps in the frontier posts, from which most of the European troops had been withdrawn. It was not only that the additional Hottentots had been raised by requisition, that is, had been compelled to join the corps, and had thus been withdrawn with their wives and children from the service of the farmers, but the opinion was general on the frontier that the pandours were kept there more with the object of overawing the white people than of preventing another Kaffir invasion.

The governor expressed his intense disgust with the condition of the corps, particularly with the idleness, filth, and debauchery in which the women connected with it were living, and desired the secretary of state to relieve the Cape government of useless expense by disbanding it and substituting a more effective regiment. The authorities in England consented, but as it was not convenient just then to send out other troops the pandours were retained in service until 1817, when the Royal African regiment arrived and a mixed cavalry and infantry battalion of two hundred and fifty halfbreeds and Hottentots was enlisted in the same manner as European soldiers, and the old corps was disbanded.

In April, 1815, Lord Charles Somerset sent some European troops from Capetown to the eastern border to relieve the burghers who had for more than three years been obliged to assist in garrisoning the posts maintained to prevent the return of the Kaffirs. The Hottentot regiment remained on the

frontier, with its headquarters at Grahamstown. Everything seemed thus to have conspired to bring about the deplorable event known as the Slagter's Nek rebellion. If the Hottentot regiment had been disbanded, or if the burghers had remained in garrison, or if the troops had been stationed differently, it would not have taken place.

There was a man named Frederik Bezuidenhout residing in the valley now known as Glen Lynden, on a farm adjoining the one occupied a few years later by the poet Pringle. This man was summoned to appear before the deputy landdrost of Cradock on a charge of ill-treatment of a coloured servant, and as he did not do so, a complaint was made to the judges of the circuit court. To their summons also he declined to attend, and therefore Lieutenant Andries Stockenstrom, who filled his deceased father's post as landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, was instructed to have him arrested. The landdrost thereupon sent the messenger of his court with letters to the fieldcornet of the ward and to Lieutenant Rousseau, commandant of the nearest military post, requesting them to assist him. The fieldcornet declined, but the military officer furnished a party of Hottentot soldiers, with whom the messenger proceeded to Bezuidenhout's farm. On their arrival, Bezuidenhout not only declined to surrender, but attempted to resist being captured, and in doing so was shot dead by a pandour.

Next day the relations and friends of the dead man assembled for the funeral, when Jan Bezuidenhout, a brother of the deceased, at the graveside made a most inflammatory speech, ending with a declaration that he would never rest until the Hottentot corps was driven from the frontier and those who

had brought the calamity upon his family were punished. All who were present expressed the warmest sympathy with him, and before they dispersed agreed to attempt to bring about a general rising. With this view another and larger meeting was held shortly afterwards, at which it was resolved that a deputation should be sent to Gaika to solicit aid, their argument being that as the English government employed Hottentots against them they were justified in using Kaffirs on their side.

Several of them immediately set out for Gaika's kraal on this mission. That chief, however, though not a man of the ability of Ndlambe, was much too cautious to accept the proposals made to him, which involved, among other arrangements, an exchange of territory that would give to the graziers the valley of the Kat River. The conference with him ended therefore with his declaration that he must see how the wind blew before he placed himself by the fire, which meant that it would be time enough for him to take part in the coming contest when he knew which side was the stronger.

Meantime a letter written by the chief conspirators to a farmer of influence in the district, containing an account of their plans and inviting him to join them, fell into the hands of a fieldcornet, who sent it to the deputy landdrost of Cradock. Intelligence of the plot was at once communicated to the deputy landdrost of Grahamstown, the landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, and Captain Andrews, the commandant of a military post close to Slagter's Nek, on the Fish River. Prompt measures were thereupon taken. An armed party was sent out, who surprised and seized one of the most active of the insurgents, a man named Hendrik Prinsloo, before he was aware

that the authorities were acquainted with the design. He was conveyed to Captain Andrews' post, and detained as a prisoner.

This event caused the insurgents to attempt to carry out their purpose without further delay, though they were quite unprepared, and a moment's reflection should have convinced them that they were entering on a career of madness. The greater number of the farmers in the district, under Commandant Willem Nel, instead of aiding them, rallied to the support of the government, though they certainly did not approve of pandours being employed to arrest a European. *That* they too felt as a grievance, but they were of opinion that an armed insurrection was not the proper manner in which to get it removed.

It was therefore with no more than fifty or sixty men, all that he could muster, and some of these very reluctant, that Jan Bezuidenhout on the 14th of November, 1815, appeared at Captain Andrews' post and demanded the release of Hendrik Prinsloo. He found Commandant Nel there with a burgher force on the side of the government, but it was doubtful which party was the stronger. A conference was arranged, at which Bezuidenhout vainly endeavoured to induce the commandant to change sides, and was as vainly urged by Nel to desist from his insane proceeding. The prisoner was of course not surrendered. The insurgents were then drawn up by Bezuidenhout in a circle, and took an oath of fidelity to each other and to the cause they had in hand, after which some of them proceeded to different parts of the frontier to solicit assistance. It was agreed that they should meet again at Slagter's Nek three days later, with whatever reinforcements they could obtain.

The landdrost of Uitenhage, Lieutenant-Colonel Cuyler, was at this time also commandant of the troops on the frontier. During the night of the 16th of November he reached Captain Andrews' post with a squadron of dragoons, and on the following morning opened communication with the infatuated men, with the object of inducing them to surrender. Commandant Nel again went to them for this purpose, and took with him a brother of one of their leaders, but expostulation and entreaty were alike in vain. They could not be persuaded to lay down their arms.

On the 18th Colonel Cuyler marched to Slagter's Nek with thirty burghers under Commandant Nel and forty dragoons under Major Fraser. When within rifle-shot of the insurgent band the force halted, and communications were again opened with a view of preventing bloodshed, but with the same result as before. Preparations for an advance upon the position were then made, but just at that moment several men were seen riding up from the opposite side and joining Bezuidenhout's party. They were the last of those who had gone to seek help, and they brought tidings of absolute failure. Five of the original band had withdrawn from the cause and gone to their homes, and the others now for the first time realised the utter hopelessness of resistance. Eighteen of them rushed towards Nel's commando, laid down their arms, and surrendered.

The remaining insurgents tried to escape. There was, however, little chance of this, so fifteen more surrendered shortly afterwards. The most desperato fled into Kaffirland, but a few days later, when the direction they had taken was ascertained, they were followed by Commandant Nel with twenty-two bur-

ghers and Major Fraser with a hundred pandours. They were soon overtaken by the pandours, when three were arrested, and one who resisted was captured after being wounded. Only Jan Bezuidenhout was now at liberty. He was in a waggon a little in advance, and with him were his wife and his son, a boy fourteen years of age.

The pandours approached the waggon, and called to him to surrender. He was an illiterate frontier grazier, whose usual residence was a wattle-and-daub structure hardly deserving the name of a house, and who knew nothing of refinement after the English town pattern. His code of honour, too, was in some respects different from that of modern Englishmen, but it contained at least one principle common to the noblest minds in all sections of the race to which he belonged: to die rather than do that which is degrading. And for him it would have been unutterably degrading to have surrendered to the pandours. Instead of doing so he fired at them. His wife, a true South African countrywoman, in this extremity showed that the Batavian blood had not degenerated by change of clime. She stepped to the side of her husband, and as he discharged one gun loaded another for his use. His son, too, took an active part in resistance. A Hottentot was killed before Bezuidenhout received two severe wounds, from which he died in a few hours, and then his wife, who was also wounded, and his son were disabled and seized.

The prisoners, thirty-nine in number, were sent to Uitenhage for trial. When brought before the judges they admitted the facts as here related, and the evidence taken was conclusive. On the 22nd of January, 1816, their sentences were pronounced.

All except the widow of Jan Bezuidenhout were to be conveyed to Captain Andrews' post, where they had taken the oath to be true to each other and their cause, and there the six most guilty were to suffer death by hanging. The remaining thirty-two, after witnessing the execution, were to undergo various punishments, ranging from banishment for life to imprisonment for a month or a fine of fifty dollars. It was generally supposed that the governor would use his power of mitigation to prevent the penalty of death being inflicted, as no blood had actually been shed by any of the prisoners. Banishment would have been equally effective as a warning to others, and it seemed to most people then as now that something was due to the burghers who aided the government, and who were afterwards horrified at the thought that they had helped to pursue their deluded countrymen to death. But Lord Charles Somerset would show very little mercy. On the intercession of Landdrost Cuyler one of those condemned to die was spared, on account of distinguished services in the preceding Kaffir war and uniform good conduct previously, but on the 9th of March, 1816, the sentences of the other five were carried out. Of the remaining prisoners one was banished from the colony for life, seven—among whom the widow of Jan Bezuidenhout was included—were banished for life from the three eastern districts, ten had the choice of short terms of imprisonment or payment of fines, and sixteen were released without further punishment.

In history occurrences must be regarded according to the effects which they produce. The event which is here recorded would not have been worthy of so much space in this volume if the execution of

the five burghers had not caused the most intense animosity towards the British government. We can never forget that Slagter's Nek was an expression frequently heard during the next thirty years, not only from the relations of those who suffered, but from those who took part on the government side without imagining that such a result would follow. And even yet it is not forgotten. It is brought forward in public discussions to-day as a proof of the merciless nature of English authority, and people in secluded districts whose ideas change slowly can with difficulty be convinced that the spirit of the time in which we live is much more humane. The question whether such punishment was deserved or not needs no remark: its infliction, as seen through the light of later occurrences, was certainly a grave political error.



## CHAPTER XI.

## THE FIFTH KAFFIR WAR.

EVENTS in South Africa have always been so interlaced that it is impossible to give an accurate account of the progress of the country during the nineteenth century without referring to occurrences that at first glance seem to have no relation to it. Such is the fifth Kaffir war, but that war opened the way to the settlement of several thousand British immigrants in the present districts of Albany and Bathurst, so that it cannot be passed over.

The line of military posts along the eastern border prevented a general invasion by the Kaffirs, but was of little use in keeping out stock thieves. Parties of young men, almost as agile as monkeys, managed to pass between them at night both coming and going, and drove off the cattle of any one who attempted to settle within fifty miles of the frontier. The nature of the country was all in their favour. The Fish River, which was the boundary stream, flows through a wide valley, and its low flat banks are covered for miles back with a dense scrub, through which the only roads in those days were the paths made by elephants. When once in this jungle the robber was safe from pursuit. In the rolling grass lands to the westward were innumerable dells and ravines clothed with trees, bushes, and lofty shrubs, which furnished hiding-places by day for cattle being driven off.

On this account various efforts made by Sir John Cradock and Lord Charles Somerset to induce graziers to settle on the land between the lower Fish and Bushman's rivers were unsuccessful. Many persons, tempted by the liberal terms offered, tried to do so, but were compelled to abandon the attempt in despair. Sir John Cradock sent a military expedition into the Kaffir country to punish the clans that were known to be most implicated in the robberies, but owing to the illness of the commanding officer little or nothing was done.

Early in 1817 Lord Charles Somerset visited the frontier. He sent an invitation to all the leading Kaffir chiefs to meet him at Gaika's kraal on the Kat River, and with a strong escort he entered their country to hold a conference. Gaika protested that his adherents were innocent of stealing, and said that he had no control over the followers of the other chiefs. The governor replied that he would not acknowledge or treat with any one else, as he regarded him—Gaika—as their legitimate ruler. An agreement was then made that the ordinary Kaffir law of communal responsibility should be in force in cases of theft from colonists, that is, any kraal to which cattle could be traced should be obliged to make good the loss, and the clan should be answerable for each of its kraals.

Shortly after this arrangement the garrison of the colony was reduced, and the dragoons were withdrawn from the frontier. In their place was substituted the new halfbreed and Hottentot regiment of mixed cavalry and infantry, already mentioned, which was called the Cape corps, and was only two hundred and fifty strong. The thieving was now carried on to a greater extent than before, and parts

of the colony that had previously been comparatively secure, such as Tarka and the territory to the westward, were subjected to the inroads of the marauders. Gaika's followers were just as active in this pursuit as the followers of the other chiefs. Military parties frequently entered the Kaffir country and made reprisals, so that the condition of things, though called peace, was really not very different from a state of war.

The feud between Gaika and Ndlambe did not cease when the latter was expelled from the colony. The two chiefs were about equal in number of direct followers, so that it depended upon the attitude of the minor clans which of them at any time was superior in strength. One year a combination would be formed that gave to Gaika a decided advantage, the next year the same thing would take place in Ndlambe's favour. Through this feud the people were reduced to a state of poverty, for cattle captured on either side after skirmishes were usually slaughtered to furnish a feast for the conquerors. In 1818 there were not more than ninety or a hundred thousand head in possession of all the residents between the Fish River and the Kei, which of itself tended to promote stocklifting from the Europeans over the border.

Gaika occupied one of the most beautiful tracts of land in South Africa, perhaps it would not be too much to say in the world. To the north was the mountain range of the Amatola, the highest dome of which still bears his name. The lower slopes were covered with dark evergreen forest trees, above which rose bare grey and brown rock in every form of crag and precipice. In July and August the summits were snow-capped, and when the snow melted,

or when thunderstorms raged along them, cascades looking like silver bands leaped hundreds of feet from ledge to ledge. Spurs of less elevation like buttresses projected many miles towards the south, forming valleys of great fertility, down which flowed streams of clear sweet water. The grass, except in seasons of drought, was luxuriant, so that nothing was wanting to make an ideal abode for an agricultural and pastoral people.

The whole country between the Buffalo River and the Kei was in Ndlambe's possession, though he could occupy only a small portion of so extensive an area. Between the Buffalo and the Fish River the land within twenty-five or thirty miles of the sea was held by the little clans that were to be found now on one side, then on the other, in the contest between Ndlambe and his nephew. All this territory was carpeted with long rich grass, and was thickly dotted over with mimosa trees, that gave it the appearance of an enormous park. Its surface was diversified with hills, plains, valleys, and ravines down which numerous rivulets coursed to the sea.

In 1818, through the influence of a man of note named Makana, nearly the whole of the petty clans were in close alliance with Ndlambe. This Makana was not a chief by birth, but one of those individuals of high intellectual power that are occasionally found among the Bantu. He had learned something from Christian missionaries, and though he had not adopted their creed, he had applied several of their tenets to his own ideas, and had then begun to instruct his countrymen, by many of whom he was regarded as one gifted with supernatural wisdom. Makana's intelligence was so much higher than that of the community in which he lived that he

was able to see the advantage of a single strong government over all the Kaffirs west of the Kei, and his desire was to raise Ndlambe to the position of paramount chief. Gaika he despised as an effeminate and licentious inebriate.

Having got together a force superior to any that had yet been engaged in the struggle, Makana managed by stratagem to draw nearly the whole of Gaika's warriors into an ambush on the Debe flats. The battle that then took place was the most desperate engagement known to any of the southern Bantu tribes, and before darkness closed in a third of Gaika's retainers had fallen and the remainder were fugitives. The night that followed was bitterly cold, for it was midwinter, when hoar frost is often seen on the ground until the sun is well above the horizon; but the victors made great fires, by the light of which they sought their wounded enemies and stabbed them to death with brutal ferocity. The Kaffirs term this engagement the battle of Amalinde, and from it old people until recently dated the events of their youth. Within a few days the conquerors took possession of the defeated chief's corn pits and destroyed his kraals, but were unable to secure the whole of his cattle.

Gaika fled westward to the Winterberg, and sent a messenger to the nearest British military post, earnestly begging for aid. At first the officer in command of the post did not give much heed to the statements of the messenger, who said there were many families in which not a single adult male remained alive, and that no such wailing as that of the women was ever heard before, but soon other information reached him which proved this to be reality, not fiction, and he then sent a report of what had oc-

curred to the governor. Lord Charles Somerset resolved to restore the fallen chief. He accordingly called out a number of mounted burghers, and directed Lieutenant-Colonel Brereton, of the Royal African corps, to march with them and some soldiers to Gaika's aid. In December, 1818, Colonel Brereton crossed the Fish River, and being joined by the fugitives, who were in the mountains near the border, he moved eastward against Ndlambe, who was believed to be at the head of eighteen thousand men. That chief and his followers, however, would not meet the Europeans in the open field, but retired into thickets, where it was not easy to reach them.

The kraals in the open country were destroyed, and wherever a herd of cattle could be got at it was seized, but only a few hundred people were killed. Colonel Brereton was so shocked by the conduct of his savage allies, who were mad with joy at being able to wreak vengeance and would spare no opponent whatever, that he withdrew from the field without first obtaining a decided advantage, taking with him twenty-three thousand head of cattle. Of these, nine thousand were given to Gaika, some were distributed among the graziers who had suffered most from depredations, and the remainder were sold to defray the expenses of the expedition. On reaching Grahamstown the burghers were disbanded and permitted to return to their homes.

This gave Ndlambe and Makana an opportunity of which they were not slow to avail themselves. The latter seemed to be everywhere, so rapid were his movements, calling upon all true men to join his cause and denouncing the wrath of the spirit world against those who held back. A great force was col-

lected, with which Gaika was attacked, utterly despoiled, and with all his adherents driven into the mountain fastnesses at the junction of the Baviaan's and Fish rivers. A rush was then made into the colony. Eight or nine thousand men in little bands spread themselves over the country far to the westward, and pillaged it completely. Fortunately most of the inhabitants had time to form lagers, within which their lives were safe; but thirty individuals were overtaken and murdered.

Another body of about nine thousand men, under Makana in person, boldly attacked Grahamstown. Soon after sunrise on the morning of the 22nd of April, 1819, they made their appearance, and in full view of the garrison ranged themselves in three columns, respectively under a son of Ndlambe, the next chief of importance in their party, and Makana himself. Lieutenant-Colonel Willshire, of the 38th regiment, was in command of the post. The garrison consisted of two hundred and twelve European soldiers and one hundred and twenty-one men of the Cape corps.

The Kaffirs in their usual manner made a rush upon the position, but it was the rush of an undisciplined mob, which might have borne down a smaller party by its weight in the open field, but could effect nothing against stone walls crowned with artillery. They were met by a volley of cannon and musket balls, which drove two of the columns back, though they soon rallied and returned to the charge. The column under Makana stood firm. He gave orders to his men to break their assagai shafts, so that they could be used as stabbing weapons, and at their head he pressed on until the barrack square was gained. Still the galling fire was continued by men who could not be reached, and though

the other two columns were now charging again, so many were falling that he was obliged to retire. Where he could not remain, neither Dushane nor Kobe, the other leaders, cared to stay, and thus the whole force retreated precipitately, carrying their wounded with them.

In the attack three men were killed and five wounded on the English side. About five hundred Kaffir bodies were counted on the ground where they fell, but it was supposed that a larger number died of their wounds before the Fish River was reached, and that their total loss was not far short of thirteen hundred men. Among them were three minor sons of the chief Ndlambe.

Before this event orders had been issued for a strong burgher force to take the field again, but as the country was suffering from drought and the horse sickness was just then unusually severe, it was some time before the farmers could get together. In July, however, all was ready for an invasion of Kaffirland. Eighteen hundred and fifty mounted burghers, four hundred and thirty-two European soldiers, seventy men of the Cape corps, and a hundred and fifty Hottentot levies were then formed into three divisions, commanded respectively by Lieutenant-Colonel Willshire, Major Fraser, and Landdrost Stockenstrom, who crossed the boundary at places some distance apart, and began to drive Ndlambe's adherents eastward before them.

In almost every thicket there was a skirmish, which invariably ended in success for the Europeans, as the assagai could not compete with the rifle, but it is to be regretted that it was not possible to put more restraint upon the followers of Gaika, who revelled to their full content in bloodshed. In a very short



time Ndlambe's power was completely broken, his cattle, about thirty thousand in number, were seized, his kraals were burnt, his corn wasted, and he himself and those of his followers who were still alive were destitute fugitives in the valley of the Kei. The task assigned to the invaders was thoroughly completed, but the commandos were instructed not to withdraw until the governor could visit the scene of hostilities and make what arrangements he might consider necessary.

On the 15th of August Makana surrendered voluntarily to Landdrost Stockenstrom, giving as his reason that as he was the prime mover of the war he hoped the British authorities would be satisfied with his detention and grant peace to his people, who were starving. He was sent as a political prisoner to Robben Island in Table Bay, where he remained nearly a year. Then with some others he endeavoured to escape in a boat, but was drowned in the surf.

The governor proceeded to the frontier, and on the 15th of October had a conference at the Gwanga with Gaika and as many of the other chiefs as could be induced to meet him. There was but one opinion among military men, that the Fish River, owing to its tortuous course and the wide belt of scrubby bush along its banks, was a boundary that could not be properly defended, and therefore a better one should be substituted. The governor saw this at a glance, and selected the Keiskama, which runs through open country. The intervening territory was then without inhabitants. Its lower portion, adjoining the sea, had been occupied by a clan that took part with Ndlambe, and that had been driven out. The centre for twenty or thirty miles had been waste for many

years, owing to the long tribal feud, which compelled the clans to live far apart. But the upper section contained the charming valleys of the Kat and Tyumie rivers and other land along the Amatola range that Gaika and his people regarded as peculiarly their own, and with which they would be most unwilling to part.

The chief, however, was in a position so entirely dependent upon the governor that when his consent was asked to make the Keiskama the boundary he dared not absolutely refuse. Dispersed as his enemies were, starving and homeless, they still refused to come under his authority. The white men might kill them, they said, but could not compel them to submit to him, for his subjects they would never be. Fortune was fickle, in Kaffirland particularly so, and who could say what assistance these fugitives might not obtain from powerful rulers beyond the Kei? So Gaika would not displease the governor, upon whose friendship his safety and his dignity rested, but he would try if by soft words he could not keep some part of what was asked.

He was born in the Tyumie valley, he said, and it was his desire to live in it; might he not retain that? How can you say you were born in the Tyumie valley, replied the governor, when at the time of your birth there were no Kaffirs west of the Keiskama, and only Bushmen lived along the mountains? That was true, he answered, but he had gone to reside there when he was a boy, and if the governor would let him keep that valley he would agree to abandon all the rest. Lord Charles consented, and an arrangement was concluded that the western boundary of the Kaffir country should thereafter be the watershed separating the Kat and Tyumie rivers down to

a certain point, thence the Tyumie to the Keiskama and the Keiskama to the sea. The territory between this line and the old border was to remain without other inhabitants than soldiers, who were to patrol it constantly and prevent either white people or Kaffirs from settling in it. This was Lord Charles Somerset's plan of solving the native question.

Temporary military camps were then formed at convenient places, the Cape corps was enlarged by enlistment and stationed in them, and the burghers were permitted to return to their homes. A site for a permanent fort was selected on the bank of the Keiskama, about midway between the mountains and the sea, and nearly the whole of the engineers in the colony, together with a detachment of soldiers of the line, were sent there to construct the works. It was named Fort Willshire, and for many years was regarded as a post of great importance.

In 1820 Lord Charles Somerset paid a short visit to England, and during his absence the acting governor attempted to alter this plan. He obtained Gaika's consent to the occupation of the vacant territory by Europeans and its full cession to the colony, after which he allotted ground there to a number of retired military officers and others; but upon the governor's return the grantees were obliged to withdraw, and the system of keeping an unoccupied belt of land between the two races was restored.

Commercial intercourse with the Kaffirs was, however, encouraged, as much with a view to their advantage as to the profits derived from the trade. With this object periodical fairs were established at Fort Willshire, to which licensed dealers took their goods and the Kaffirs brought ivory, hides, millet, and mimosa gum. The traffic was carried on under

the supervision of the officer commanding at the fort, who was careful to prevent munitions of war or spirituous liquors from being sold. Personal ornaments, such as beads, copper wire, and brass buttons, were what the Kaffirs particularly wished for, and it was a long time before they acquired a taste for more useful articles. The chiefs usually took half of whatever the commoners obtained, as a right which was their due.

No white men except Christian missionaries were permitted by law under any pretence to enter the Kaffir country, but it was impossible to prevent worthless characters, military deserters and others, from doing so occasionally. The London Missionary Society was now commencing its work among Gaika's adherents, and a little later was followed by the Wesleyan Society, which took Ndlambe's people as its first field of labour, but rapidly formed a chain of stations eastward to the Bashee.

## CHAPTER XII.

## ARRIVAL OF BRITISH COLONISTS.

BEFORE the year 1817 almost the only residents of British birth in South Africa were the heads of the civil departments of the government, the troops, and a few merchants and professional men in Capetown and Simonstown. The passage from England was too long and too expensive for ordinary emigrants to undertake. There was no regular postal communication until the end of 1815, when packets commenced to leave the Thames monthly with mails, passengers, and light cargo for the Cape, Mauritius, and India. The first of these packets arrived in Table Bay in April, 1816, after a passage of one hundred and fourteen days. The postage on letters brought by her was eighty-four cents the quarter ounce, and on newspapers six cents an ounce, certainly not a rate to encourage correspondence.

British immigration into South Africa other than that named above commenced as a commercial speculation. In 1817 a gentleman named Moodie, learning that mechanics were in great demand in Cape-town, agreed with some two hundred Scotch artisans who were out of employment to apprentice themselves to him for three years, and sent them out in detachments. Upon their arrival no difficulty was experienced in selling the indentures at from \$240 to \$290 each, chiefly to the mechanics themselves on easy terms of payment. By combining together,

living frugally, and taking work by contract, most of these men were soon in prosperous circumstances, though a few who mixed with the coloured people were failures. The steady among them by getting out their families and writing to their friends helped to bring the colony to the notice of the labouring classes in Scotland, but this had little effect, as unaided emigration at that time was hardly practicable.

A little later in the same year some seven or eight hundred time-expired soldiers and sailors were discharged in Capetown, and readily found employment. These men, however, cannot be said to have increased the strength of the colony, or to have been instrumental to its progress in any way. A writer of the time states that there being no suitable women for them to marry, they formed connections with coloured females, and thus added to the bulk of that class of the population which is least useful and most dangerous in a moral point of view.

In 1819 about twenty-five individuals were sent out under a scheme similar to that of Mr. Moodie, but the gentleman who engaged in it was unable to carry it further, as just then the announcement was made of a resolution by the government to convey a large number of families to South Africa free of cost.

For some years after the termination of the long war with France there was much distress among the labouring people of Great Britain, as the country could not furnish employment at once for the large numbers who directly or indirectly had been occupied in carrying on the contest. The only remedy seemed to be emigration to other parts of the empire where the condition of things was different, where there was land without people, or work to be done and no

one to do it. This was the state of the Cape Colony, with its genial climate, its sparsely inhabited territory, and its undeveloped resources.

Lord Charles Somerset suggested to the secretary of state that large tracts of land should be given to wealthy men who were willing to take out from thirty to fifty families, either as labourers or as tenants. He wished thus to introduce the English system of great estates, with aristocratic holders and labourers of lower rank. In truth this was already the ordinary South African system in the agricultural districts, where the farmer was like an aristocratic proprietor, and the slaves and Hottentots were labourers and tenants. And yet when it was tried it was found impossible in a single instance to carry out Lord Charles Somerset's scheme. It answered admirably where the labourers and tenants were of an inferior race, but failed where they were of the same blood as the proprietor.

The authorities in England decided to send out a mixed body of emigrants, and placed a sum of two hundred and forty thousand dollars upon the estimates for the purpose, which parliament granted without demur. Applications were then called for in different parts of the kingdom on the following terms: free transport to the colony; a hundred acres of ground without charge to each head of a family, with an additional hundred for every servant a wealthy man should take out; freedom from land taxes for ten years, and from district rates for five; no charge for survey, but title deeds to be issued only after three years' occupation; \$48 to be deposited with the emigration commissioners by each head of a family or for each adult male servant, to be returned after arrival in the colony either in

money, provisions, or agricultural implements at cost price.

Applications representing nearly ninety thousand individuals were sent in, from which one thousand and thirty-four English families, four hundred and twelve Scotch, one hundred and seventy-four Irish, and forty-two Welsh were selected, but most of the Scotch and some of the Irish afterwards withdrew. Every hundred families that chose to group together had the right of selecting a clergyman of any denomination to accompany them, whose salary would be paid by government, but the majority did not avail themselves of this privilege, and only two clergymen of the English church and one Wesleyan accompanied the emigrants. Many of the heads of families preferred to leave their wives and children at home until they could prepare for their reception in the colony, and some of these did not reach South Africa until several years later.

Lord Charles Somerset resolved that the immigrants should be located in the tract of land between the Fish and Bushman's rivers, part of the territory from which the Kaffirs had been expelled in 1812. It was then entirely unoccupied, except by the garrison of Grahamstown and the Hottentots at the London Society's mission station Theopolis. The governor believed that it was secure from Kaffir inroads, and it had in front of it the vacant ground between the Fish and the Keiskama, which was patrolled by soldiers. It was a well-watered land, and fair to look upon, so that there seemed to be a reasonable prospect of a settlement thriving upon it.

In March, 1820, the first transports arrived in Table Bay, and the others quickly followed. A few mechanics, tempted by the high wages offered,



chose not to go farther, and two small groups of families were landed there to be located at Caledon and Clanwilliam, but far the greater number, after obtaining refreshments, proceeded onward to Algoa Bay. There they disembarked, and were sheltered in tents until vehicles could be obtained to convey them and their effects to the ground upon which they were to live. They had not long to wait, for the government requisitioned waggons from the graziers to the westward, and when these arrived they went on without delay.

Their troubles were now to begin. Each family was left upon its own ground with a tent and information where and when rations would be distributed for a time to the elected head of the group of which it was a member. It would have been all very well if they had been agricultural labourers, but very few of them knew anything whatever about tilling the soil. Among them were several retired military officers, physicians, surgeons, and other gentlemen with slender means, besides a number of clerks and persons previously engaged in different kinds of commerce, who emigrated under the belief that with a hundred acres of ground of their own they could employ labour and live in comfort. They were rudely awakened to the fact that the only labour they could depend upon was that of their own hands. Of those who were accustomed to toil, the majority were mechanics and people who had been employed in factories.

It seemed for a time as if the settlement was doomed to failure, and that as soon as the supply of rations issued by the government ceased the people must starve. Among them were a few men of means, who had brought out a number of servants, and were

consequently in a better position than the others. These built houses and began to cultivate the ground, but being without experience they sowed wheat in the virgin soil, and their crops were entirely destroyed by rust. Then their servants became unruly or deserted, and they were compelled to abandon the idea of creating estates like those in England.

At the close of 1820 things looked very gloomy in the district of Albany, as the territory between the Fish and Bushman's rivers was now called. But something was there which was destined to make the settlement one of the most successful instances of colonisation ever known, and that something was undaunted perseverance. These men and women were after all the right material, for if their hands were unskilled their hearts were strong, and one individual who conquers tremendous difficulties is surely worth whole scores of those who can surmount no obstacles in life. They had come to make homes for themselves and their children, and homes they were resolved to have.

The mechanics, realising that without some capital or special knowledge ground is useless, moved away to places where they could get work at high wages. By doing so they abandoned their rights to the hundred-acre plots, but many of them acquired ground and became farmers in later life when they had obtained full knowledge of the conditions of the country and were in possession of sufficient means to purchase stock and proper implements. Others, who under no circumstances would have made successful farmers, went to the villages and took employment of some kind until they could better themselves.

Meantime more were arriving at Algoa Bay and

were being forwarded to Albany. Some of these were people who paid for their passages under an arrangement with the secretary of state that they should receive free grants of land, others were sent out by the government in place of the Scotch and Irish families that had withdrawn. Altogether, between March, 1820, and May, 1821, nearly five thousand individuals of British birth were thus landed in the colony, and set down on open ground that had never been cultivated before except in little patches by the Kaffir pick. As the larger number of these were without means to purchase food, rations of meat, flour, and rice were supplied to them at the joint expense of the imperial and colonial governments until October, 1821, and half rations to the most needy after that date. But they had not migrated to South Africa to become paupers, and as rapidly as they possibly could they relieved the governments of this burden.

In June, 1821, the acting governor visited the settlement, and was able to give his testimony to the courage with which the people were meeting their difficulties. He found them in fairly good spirits, and making much greater progress in cultivating the ground than could have been expected from the previous occupations of most of them. Some had purchased a few working and breeding cattle, and had large gardens, with plenty of vegetables, pigs, and poultry. The health of all was remarkably good: there was hardly one who was not more robust than in England. The deaths had not exceeded a dozen, and the births had been over a hundred. Little cottages of unburnt brick or wattled walls and thatched roofs had been built, and provided tolerable shelter from sun and storm.

The settlers, however, had not yet sufficient experience in South African farming, and this season again they laid their lands almost entirely under wheat, instead of maize or oats. The result was the entire destruction of the crops by rust, as in 1820. This caused another dispersion among the colonial villages, which tended greatly to the advantage of Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth. The first of these places, having a military garrison and being in an excellent situation, attracted many persons. Albany had been created a district in 1820, with a landdrost and heemraden of its own, who had been stationed at a place named Bathurst, on the Kowie River, but at the close of 1821 the court was moved to Grahamstown as a much better centre. Here also were the stores from which the Kaffir traders obtained their supplies, so that it was a place of yearly increasing importance. Port Elizabeth, as the village on the western shore of Algoa Bay was now called, was the natural seaport for the eastern districts of the colony, and with the arrival of the British settlers trade began to flow through it. There was in consequence an opportunity to make a living there, which many who could not succeed as farmers availed themselves of.

Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth were thus purely British centres from the first, and they remain so to this day, for hardly any Dutch colonists have ever settled at either place. The district of Albany too has always remained entirely English as far as its European population is concerned. But the dispersion of the British immigrants extended into districts that had been purely Dutch before, and especially at the villages of Graaff-Reinet, Cradock, and Uitenhage there was from this time forward

a considerable English element in the population, having the commerce as well as the mechanical industry of these places almost entirely in its hands.

A few individuals, attracted by the large profit to be made in Kaffirland, where an ox was often to be had for a couple of pounds of beads or a few bangles, ignored the government regulations, and made their way far to the eastward. When detected they were severely punished, but the gains were so enormous that the number engaged in illicit dealing increased constantly, until in 1830 the government abandoned the restrictive system, the fairs at Fort Willshire were brought to an end, and licences were granted to traders to enter the Kaffir country freely. Elephant hunting was another occupation to which several of the more adventurous turned, and as ivory was always saleable and the animals that produced it were then plentiful, it furnished them with ample means for living, though it unfitted them for steadier pursuits in later times.

In 1822 the attempt to raise wheat, still persisted in, was again a failure, but as other crops were also tried, and succeeded admirably, the farmers regarded the turning point of their fortunes as passed. In May, 1823, there were still four hundred and thirty-eight heads of families on the ground that had been assigned to them, and these looked forward with confidence to the ultimate success which they so thoroughly deserved. Their chief complaint was want of labourers. Though so many of those drawn from English towns and factories had been obliged to abandon the settlement, those that remained could not obtain a ploughman or a farm hand at any wage. What had been accomplished was due to their own unaided toil.

But while they were thus hopeful, a great and unanticipated calamity was still before them, as if Providence designed to try them by the severest of tests, and by so doing fit them to take their full share in building up a great colony. The Dutch South Africans had passed through wave after wave of adversity, and had emerged a strong, self-reliant, undaunted people, capable of forcing their way through suffering to success. The British settlers in Albany were to go through the same ordeal.

Early in October, 1823, there were such floods in the eastern part of the colony as had never been known before. For days together rain fell as in ordinary thunderstorms, every rill became a foaming torrent, and the rivers, overflowing their banks, rolled down to the sea in great volumes of discoloured water. The immigrants, being without experience of anything of this kind, had built their cottages and made their gardens and cornfields on the low-lying ground along the streamlets which course through the district. When the flood came, cottages, gardens, orchards, and cornfields were all swept away. Many escaped with nothing but their lives and the clothes they had on. In some places even the earth loosened by the plough or the spade disappeared, leaving the barren subsoil bare.

By this misfortune a great many were reduced to the last stage of distress. They could not have recovered their position indeed if a sum of about \$50,000 had not been raised in other parts of the colony, in India, and in England, to help them to commence afresh. This did not go very far, but it enabled them to meet the most pressing needs, and with a force of will that must command the highest admiration they set to work again.

Early in 1825 the governor visited Albany, and enlarged the farms of those who had so bravely persevered, by dividing among them the ground abandoned by the others. They had by this time acquired sufficient experience to know what crops could be most successfully cultivated, and they had begun to realise that cattle-breeding was the most profitable branch of their industry. A number of starving Betshuana, who had escaped from wars then carried on beyond the Orange River, had found their way into the colony, and the governor apprenticed these refugees to the settlers for seven years. They could only perform the roughest kind of labour, but as cattle herds they were useful, and their maintenance cost but little.

From this time onward until 1834 the immigrants would have enjoyed almost uninterrupted prosperity if it had not been for Kaffir thieves who made their way into the colony and drove off all cattle not carefully guarded in Albany as well as in the districts north and west occupied by Dutch farmers. They had adjusted themselves, each one into the position for which he was best adapted, and they had obtained what they came to seek, comfortable and happy homes. In 1821 the scheme of their introduction was regarded by observers as a lamentable failure; in 1831 it was questioned whether any previous settlement by Europeans in a large body in any wild territory in the world had been so successful.

While the eastern districts were thus being peopled either entirely or partly by subjects of English speech, the western districts received very few such immigrants. Nearly all those who were at first located at Caledon and Clanwilliam after a short stay went on to Albany, and there was but one

small influx from Europe to compensate for their removal.

The want of labourers in Capetown and its vicinity tempted a gentleman named Ingram in 1823 to introduce some from Ireland. He made an arrangement with Lord Bathurst, then secretary of state in charge of the colonial department, under which the imperial government paid a portion of the passage money. Mr. Ingram then obtained three hundred and fifty individuals of both sexes as apprentices for three years, and brought them to Capetown, where he sold the indentures. This was the last state-aided immigration into South Africa for many years, but individuals, chiefly men engaged in commerce, frequently arrived and settled in Capetown or Port Elizabeth. Civil servants also sent out from England seldom returned, and clergymen and lay missionaries of many societies helped to increase the European population.



## CHAPTER XIII.

## CHANGES AND IMPROVEMENTS OF VARIOUS KINDS.

It was now considered advisable by the authorities in England to suppress the use of Dutch as the official language of South Africa, and in July, 1822, a proclamation was issued, by direction of Earl Bathurst, for this purpose. It provided that after the 1st of January, 1823, all documents issued from the office of the secretary to government and after the 1st of January, 1825, all other public documents were to be in English, and that after the 1st of January, 1828, proceedings in courts of justice were to be conducted in that language only. This measure not unnaturally created great irritation among the old colonists, but their efforts to have it modified so that English should be exclusively used in Albany, Port Elizabeth, and Simonstown, and the two languages concurrently elsewhere, were without success.

As a means of altering the tongue of the great body of Europeans in the country, the measure was an utter failure. In truth it acted in the contrary direction, for hundreds of parents who otherwise would have had their children taught English now refused to do so. It was a legitimate grievance, that caused not only unnecessary expense, but deeply wounded the sentiments of the people. If a man had a case in court an interpreter had to be employed to translate every word that was said into a

language unknown by all who were present except the magistrate and the clerk, and even they were usually more conversant with Dutch than with English. If he had business of any kind to transact with the government, it was necessary to employ some one, over whom he had no check, to conduct the correspondence. Any one who will contrast with this the treatment which the French in Canada received will arrive at one of the causes of that widespread disaffection towards British rule which soon afterwards prevailed in South Africa.

To provide the means of acquiring a knowledge of the English language the vacant pulpits of the Dutch Reformed Church were filled by young clergymen brought out from Scotland, and free schools of a high class with able Scotch teachers were established in the principal villages. In these schools instruction was given in the English and Latin languages alone. This added to the prevailing irritation, and many parents would not allow their children to attend, so that in one or two instances it was necessary to withdraw the teachers for want of pupils. At some places, however, especially where there were a few English residents, the attendance was large, and it is hardly possible to estimate too highly the advantages which the colony derived in an intellectual point of view from the establishment of these schools.

The Scotch clergymen rapidly acquired a knowledge of Dutch, and as many of them married into colonial families the prejudice against them which existed at first quickly passed away. They had been carefully selected when theological students, and without exception proved to be men of high ability and great zeal. The influence which they enjoyed

in later years was used indeed to make their people good Christians and good subjects, not to destroy their hereditary speech, and it cannot be said that they did anything directly to promote the use of the English tongue. Their ministrations were in the language of their people, though they were accustomed to hold additional services in English wherever there were residents of British blood. Several of the present colonial districts—Murraysburg, Fraserburg, Sutherland, and Robertson—were named in honour of the Scotch clergymen who ministered to congregations there before the middle of the century.

In 1823 two commissioners were sent from England to enquire into the condition of the colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, and Ceylon, and to suggest administrative and financial improvements. At the Cape their researches into questions relating to the public revenue and to trade were exhaustive, and their reports upon these subjects were compiled with great care; but their examination into other matters was extremely superficial. Some of their statements, upon which be it remembered the form of the future administration of the colony was to be decided, create nothing short of amazement in those who are acquainted with the archives of the colony, documents which they, however, had neither time nor the necessary knowledge to examine. Upon their recommendations several important changes were made.

The first was the creation, in 1825, of a council to advise and assist the governor. It consisted of six members, three of whom—the chief justice, the secretary to government, and the military officer next in rank to the governor—were to have seats by virtue of their offices, and the other three were appointed by

the secretary of state on the recommendation of the governor. To this council all ordinances, public orders, and proclamations were submitted before being issued, but the governor was not bound to follow the advice given, and no question could be discussed unless proposed by him. The creation of this advisory body therefore did not mark much advance upon the system of despotic government that preceded it.

Another change was the redemption of the paper money, or rather the substitution of metallic coins for the paper tokens that were in circulation. Of late years this paper had been greatly increased, first to enlarge the capital of the government bank and enable that institution to meet the demands of the growing commerce of the colony, and secondly to construct public buildings, as the general revenue was absorbed by the very high salaries paid to the governor and the heads of departments. The governor, for instance, received yearly \$48,000 as salary, and was provided with an official residence, a country seat, a shooting lodge, and a marine villa, all maintained at the cost of the colony; the colonial secretary received \$16,800 a year; and all other officials sent from England in proportion. These salaries were paid in sterling money, so that the rate of exchange of the paper tokens against coin made no difference to the heads of departments. It made a very great difference, however, to the subordinate officers appointed in the colony, who received the same quantity of paper every month, no matter what the rate of exchange might be.

In 1825 the paper in circulation represented rather over three and a half million rixdollars, of which a little more than a third formed the capital

of the bank. The rixdollar, that is, the dollar of the kingdom of Spain, was originally in South Africa exactly equal to the United States or Canadian dollar of the present day, but when the first paper money was issued there was no silver coin of that name in the country, and it was declared to be equal to forty-eight Dutch stivers or ninety-six cents. At that rate all subsequent issues were nominally made, and in proclamations and other public documents it was repeatedly represented as of the same value as four English shillings.

In trade it was constantly fluctuating, and there were times when in Capetown one shilling and five pence or thirty-four cents in silver or copper would purchase as much as an inconvertible paper rixdollar, though in the country districts it never sank so low as that. It was evident to every one that the paper was a great barrier to the extension of commerce, and that financial computations of every kind must remain in confusion as long as it was in existence. But it was equally evident that there was no possible way of destroying it without inflicting heavy loss upon individuals in the community.

In 1825 the imperial authorities came to a decision upon the subject. An amount of coin was lent to the Cape government to redeem a portion of the paper tokens, and notes convertible into treasury bills at the commissariat offices were issued to meet the remainder. The exchange was fixed at thirty-six cents for the rixdollar. Thus all debtors were released of five-eighths of what they owed, and all taxes like quitrents on land were reduced in the same proportion. But those to whom money was due, wards of the orphan chamber, holders of mort-

gages, and investors of all kinds suffered severely. There were of course many complaints, some of which were of a piteous nature; but upon the whole the gain to the colony by getting rid of the paper tokens was very great, and probably less distress was caused by the rate of exchange that was adopted than by any other that could have been fixed.

From this time forward pounds, shillings, and pence sterling took the place in public accounts and in commercial transactions of the rixdollars, schellings, and stivers of former times, and English money alone has remained in use to the present day.

On the 1st of January, 1828, the old courts of justice in the colony were abolished, and others resembling those in England took their place. The high court of justice had previously consisted of judges appointed by the governor, and, with the exception of the president, removable at his pleasure. They held other situations in the civil service, and had the position of judges assigned to them as a mark of favour or to increase their salaries. The court of appeal consisted of the governor himself, assisted in criminal cases by one or two assessors. Occasionally decisions were reviewed in England, and though they were recognised by the highest legal authorities there to be in accordance with justice, the constitution of the courts subjected their proceedings to adverse criticism by those against whom judgment was given. Such tribunals could not command the respect of every one.

In August, 1827, a charter of justice was issued, which provided for the establishment of a supreme court, to be independent of the executive and legislative branches of the government, and to consist of a chief justice and three puisne judges, all of whom

were to be barristers or advocates of at least three years' standing. They were to be appointed by the crown, and were not to hold any other office. In civil cases there was to be a right of appeal to the privy council if the matter in dispute was over \$4,800 in value. Criminal cases were to be tried by a judge and a jury of nine men, whose verdict was to be unanimous in order to convict. The forms of procedure were to be those of English courts, though the civil or Roman-Dutch law was to remain in force undisturbed. Circuit courts were to be held twice a year in the chief villages throughout the colony.

Instead of the district courts of landdrost and heemraden stipendiary magistrates were appointed to perform the judicial duties, and civil commissioners to receive the revenues. In most cases the two offices were held by the same individual. The colony was divided into two provinces, termed the western and the eastern. In the eastern province a commissioner-general was stationed, to supervise the magistrates and watch over affairs on the border. The colony was at this time divided into eleven districts, of which six were included in the eastern province.

With the courts of landdrost and heemraden, which had previously administered the district revenues, the burgher senate, that had performed similar municipal duties in Capetown, was also abolished. The government required all the local rates and taxes to be paid into the public treasury, and undertook the duties of the local boards throughout the colony. To compensate in some measure for this, the chief justice and two of the official nominees were deprived of their seats in the council of advice, and two colonists, nominated by the governor and approved by

the secretary of state, were appointed in their stead.

The creation of an independent supreme court was admitted by every one to be an advantage, but whether trial of criminal cases by jury tended to promote justice was a question upon which two opinions could be held. In the eye of the law the life of a Kaffir or a Bushman was as sacred as that of the chief justice himself, but could it be expected that nine men would always agree to subject a European to sentence of death for shooting a Kaffir or a Bushman thief, no matter how clear the evidence might be, or how the judge might sum it up. They might bring in a verdict of guilty if the value of the lives of different classes of men was appraised as in early days in England, but that was impossible in the nineteenth century. To the present day this question is not answered alike by every one, nor can it ever be in a country inhabited by men of the highest and of the lowest races, all absolutely equal before the law.

Another question open to doubt was whether the English principle of not questioning a prisoner on trial, and even warning him not to criminate himself, served the purposes of justice as well as the system that it superseded. Upon this also a difference of opinion still exists in South Africa, as elsewhere.

The abolition of the courts of landdrost and heemraden, and the substitution of a single individual in their stead, met with general disapproval, except in Albany, where the people were indifferent in the matter. Everywhere else the old colonists were dismayed on seeing their ancient institutions broken down. And a little later, when a judge on circuit removed the cases from one of the country districts to Cape-town for trial, on the ground that a sufficient number



of persons acquainted with the English language could not be found there to form a jury, people began to discuss among themselves whether it would not be possible to escape from treatment of this kind by moving away into the far interior. There was no one desirous of being on a jury, but every one felt it as an insult being disqualified through want of knowledge of a language that was not his own.

At the beginning of 1834 the Cape government was subjected to retrenchment on a very extensive scale. Additional taxes had been laid upon the colonists, and the imperial treasury had taken upon itself the cost of maintaining the Cape corps, still the outlay exceeded the income, as it had done ever since 1806, and there was now a public debt of about one million two hundred and seventy-one thousand dollars. This was a condition of things that could not last, so retrenchment was unavoidable. The salary of the governor was cut down to one-half of what it had been, and he was allowed only an official residence. The heads of departments also were obliged to content themselves with greatly reduced incomes, and wherever it was possible to lop off charges the pruning-knife was used. An administration quite as efficient as the previous one, and much better suited to the circumstances of the country, was thus established.

At the same time a great advance was made in the form of government by the creation of distinct legislative and executive councils to supersede the council of advice. The colonists were very desirous of obtaining a representative assembly, and had sent several petitions to the house of commons and to the king in council to that effect, but had met with no success. The ministry of Earl Grey, however, at

length resolved to do something in the matter, though not in the way requested, as the elective principle was quite ignored.

The legislative council consisted of ten members, and could be increased to twelve if the governor found it advisable. The military officer next in rank to the governor, the secretary to government, the treasurer-general, the auditor-general, and the attorney-general had seats in it by virtue of their offices, the other members were selected by the governor from the most respectable inhabitants. The governor presided in it, and had a vote on every occasion, as well as a casting vote when the division was equal. After this date draft ordinances were published in the *Gazette* three weeks before they were brought before the council for discussion, and they could then be passed, amended, or rejected by a majority of votes.

The executive council consisted of the military officer next in rank to the governor, the secretary to government, the treasurer-general, and the attorney-general. It was purely an advisory body, and the governor was not bound to follow its decisions if he thought fit to act contrary to them.

Lord Charles Somerset had left the colony in 1826. So many complaints of his tyranny had reached England that he was under the necessity of returning to try to defend himself in a parliamentary enquiry, and when there the ministry of the Earl of Liverpool, in which his family had great influence, was obliged to retire from office, upon which he immediately resigned his appointment. Major-General Richard Bourke then acted as governor until the arrival of Sir Lowry Cole in 1828. Sir Lowry retired in 1833, and was succeeded in January, 1834, by Sir Ben-

jamin D'Urban, when the retrenchment was effected.

The import trade of the colony was all this time protected by differential duties in favour of Great Britain. For some years after the conquest British goods imported in British ships were admitted duty free, foreign goods imported in British ships or British goods imported in foreign ships were subject to a duty of five per cent.—in 1809 raised to ten per cent.—of their value, and on foreign goods imported in foreign ships a duty of fifteen per cent. of the value was levied. In April, 1812, trade by foreign ships to or from the colony was prohibited, and in the following year a duty of three per cent. of the value began to be levied for revenue purposes on British goods. In 1820 foreign ships were again permitted to bring goods not manufactured of cotton, wool, or iron to the Cape on payment of ten per cent. duty. In 1832 an order in council was issued which fixed the duty on British goods from British possessions anywhere except the East Indies at three per cent. of the value. East Indian produce and goods from foreign countries were to pay a duty of ten per cent. of their value, and in the case of the latter British and foreign ships were placed on an equality.

The imports, nearly the whole of which were brought in British ships from Great Britain or her Indian possessions, averaged yearly from 1826 to 1836 one million six hundred and sixteen thousand dollars.

The exports of colonial produce were steadily rising, and were free of duty. Among them wine held the first place, owing to great encouragement for its production by the British customs regulations.

Hides and skins, a large proportion of which were obtained beyond the border, came next. Then followed wheat, horses, horns, ivory, wool, aloes, raisins, ostrich feathers, and a few other articles. The total yearly value of the exports was one million one hundred and seventy thousand dollars, leaving a balance of trade against the colony of four hundred and forty-six thousand dollars a year. Four-fifths of the exports were through Capetown, the remainder through Port Elizabeth.

The British government had no desire to enlarge its possessions in South Africa, on the contrary, if it had been possible to reduce the area of the Cape Colony at this time it would have been done. But with open territory to the north and east, and with a border occupied by graziers, expansion was inevitable. So in a quiet way, without any formal proclamations, but mainly by instructions to officials after portions of territory were occupied, the colony had of late years been considerably extended. In 1824 the north-eastern boundary was defined as the Zwart Kei and Klaas Smit's rivers and the Stormberg Spruit, and the northern as the Orange River down to about longitude  $24^{\circ} 20'$ , thence a straight line to the Pramberg, and thence an irregular curve through the junction of the Zak and Riet rivers to the mouth of the Buffalo on the shore of the Atlantic. In the following year the land on the east as far as the Koonap River was occupied and became part of a colonial district.

As further marks of progress during this period may be noted the establishment of the existing public library in Capetown in 1822, in which were included some five thousand volumes bequeathed to the country by a gentleman named Von Dessin sixty-two

years before; the opening of the first lighthouse on the coast in 1824; the construction of a good road through the Frenchhoek pass in the first range of mountains in 1824; the publication of the first periodical magazine and the first newspapers other than the *Government Gazette* in 1824; the establishment of savings banks in 1831; the establishment of the South African college in Capetown in 1829; the completion of a road over Sir Lowry's pass between Stellenbosch and Caledon in 1830; and the gradual expansion of the postal system, until in 1834 there was a weekly mail conveyed in light spring carts travelling night and day to all the villages in the colony.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## MISSION WORK AND CONDITION OF THE HOTTENTOTS.

THIS period is remarkable on account of the great extension of mission work among the coloured people in the Cape Colony and beyond its borders. The Protestant churches of Europe had done little or nothing for the conversion of the heathen before the close of the eighteenth century, but they had now awakened to their duty in that respect, and were burning with new-born zeal to convey the blessings of Christianity to the dark-skinned races of the earth. Africa, the mysterious unexplored continent, whose children had previously been regarded as mere commodities of value in commerce, presented itself as a field of labour having special claims upon evangelical churches. In the new light now shining so brightly it seemed that the great wrong of the slave trade ought to be redressed as far as earthly means would permit by a strenuous effort to bring the negro into a condition of brotherhood with those who were already in the fold of Christ.

The object was praiseworthy in the highest degree, and if the means adopted to attain it cannot in all instances be approved of, it must be remembered that at the close of the nineteenth century experience had been gained that the pioneers in the mission field had no knowledge of, and that they like all men were liable to err. From the very first there was a difference of opinion as to the method to be followed, aris-

ing from a different interpretation of texts of scripture. For instance, in the writings of the apostle Paul does the brotherhood of Christians so constantly spoken of mean social and mental as well as religious equality, or does it not? To take the two extremes, a Moravian would answer no, a missionary of the London Society yes. And so with other questions that need not be introduced here, as this was for many years the one most hotly contested.

The Moravian Society, or United Brethren, often called the Herrnhuters, entered the South African field first, and at this time was working among both Hottentots and Kaffirs. It was a small and very poor church, but its members, mostly German artisans, were among the most devoted and self-sacrificing of men. Abstaining entirely from politics, living in an extremely frugal manner, and maintaining themselves almost entirely by their own labour, they taught those they gathered round them by example as well as by precept to lead honest, industrious, God-fearing lives. Cleanliness and sobriety were inculcated as among the most necessary Christian virtues. They kept, and keep to this day, their converts under strict guardianship, a system that time and experience have shown to be highly beneficial. It is true that the coloured people under this training have not been raised so high in stability as to be able to hold their own in the face of temptations such as all of their class are exposed to, but it is equally true that under no other system has this object been attained. That they are in general more industrious, sober, orderly, and cleanly than the mass of their fellows is a matter of common observation, and none of them have ever taken part in any seditious or rebellious movement.

The Moravian mission has always been regarded with favour by the government and, except in a very few instances, by the colonists. With its limited means in men and money it has certainly effected a vast amount of good in elevating thousands of coloured people far above their original condition.

The next in point of time was the London Missionary Society, of some of whose agents in the colony much must presently be said.

The South African Missionary Society was established in the first year of the century, and was connected with the Dutch Reformed Church. Unlike either of the others that have been mentioned, it did not begin by collecting a number of families of coloured people on a tract of land termed a station, but worked among slaves and free negroes in service in Capetown and the country villages. In 1817, however, it enlarged its operations by founding the station since known as Zoar.

In 1816 the Wesleyan Society commenced its mission work in South Africa by stationing a clergyman at Kamiesberg, a Hottentot reserve in the north-western part of the colony. A few years later a mission with Ndlambe's Kaffirs was founded, which was the beginning of very extensive operations among the Southern Bantu.

In 1821 the first missionaries of the Glasgow Society arrived in South Africa. They turned their attention to the Kaffirs on the eastern frontier, and shortly had a complete chain of stations along the Amatola mountains. In later years this mission was divided between the United Presbyterian and Free Churches of Scotland, now united in one Church.

In 1829 the Paris Evangelical and the Rhenish



Missionary Societies sent their first agents to South Africa, and in 1834 agents of the Berlin Missionary Society followed.

In the colony, where the old Hottentot reserves were not conveniently situated for mission work, there was very little difficulty in obtaining from the government suitable grants of ground for the purpose. Beyond the border the chiefs were always ready to receive white men and give them land to live upon, as they believed their dignity was increased by having such guests.

With so many Societies engaged, each employing numerous individuals, there was no part of the Cape Colony unoccupied, and no person in any position whatever who had not an opportunity of learning the doctrines of Christianity. The agents of most of these Societies devoted themselves entirely to the conversion of the coloured people, and as they abstained from interference in political questions and gave no unnecessary annoyance to the colonists, they were regarded with general esteem. Their reports are almost duplicates of those of the Jesuit and Dominican missionaries written two centuries and a half before. There is the same stress laid upon the readiness of the heathen to embrace Christianity, and upon pious expressions made by converts, without noticing the absence of any corresponding course of action. But it would be expecting that which is not reasonable, if one were to look for more. The habits of barbarians do not undergo a complete change in a single generation, and the mistake that the missionaries made was in not recognising this at first,—they do so now,—but in considering a recent convert to Christianity as having the same stamina as a European.

The London Missionary Society occupied in South Africa a position different from all the others. It had not only a greater number of agents, but its openly avowed principles brought it into conflict with the government and the colonists, and created an antagonism towards it that has not even yet wholly died out. Its superintendents put themselves in the position of advocates for the coloured people, and brought innumerable complaints before the directors of the Society in England instead of before the government in Capetown, thus drawing upon themselves the hostility of the local authorities. In their view it was oppression to make a distinction in any way between coloured people and Europeans, and through their publications they caused the colonists to be regarded abroad as unjust and cruel because Hottentot and negro servants were not treated as equals socially. Several of the most prominent among them, notably Dr. Vanderkemp, their first superintendent, put their principles into practice by marrying coloured women, and their processions were usually led by a white and a negro child carrying a banner with the motto *Ex uno sanguine*. Dr. Philip, the second superintendent, maintained that he knew an educated Bushman—whom, however, no one else had ever seen—intellectually equal to a European.

It was thus not a question of religion, but a question whether a barbarian could at one bound attain the top rung of the ladder to which Europeans have climbed slowly and painfully through countless generations, that divided the colonists from the London Missionary Society. With this exception, the doctrine they taught hardly differed from that of the Dutch Church, most of them being Congrega-

tionalists or Independents. And it is only right to observe that there were among the agents of this Society in South Africa several men, such as the Reverend Messrs. Anderson, Charles Pacalt, John Brownlee, Mr. Kicherer, Mr. Taylor, and Dr. Thom, who either did not hold, or at least did not obtrude, the opinions referred to above, and that they enjoyed the esteem of the colonists. The three last named, indeed, in later years entered the Dutch Church, and became pastors of European congregations.

One of the largest branches of this mission during the first half of the nineteenth century was north of the Orange River, beyond the boundary of the colony. There several earnest and pious evangelists, after years of wandering about with little clans, succeeded in collecting together a number of mixed breeds, colonial Hottentots, Namaquas, Koranas, and free blacks, and made an attempt to form a permanent settlement. To the motley assemblage the Reverend John Campbell gave the name Griquas, which they formally adopted, and to the principal kraal, which was at the fountain Klaarwater, the name Griquatown. The great majority of these people spoke the Dutch language, and were accustomed to wear European clothing.

A constitution was framed by Mr. Campbell, in which the powers of government were pretty equally divided between the missionaries and the leading men, who were termed captains, each of whom had his own retainers. It all looked very nice on paper, and many good men really believed that a new Christian nation had been born in Africa. The Griquas had some cattle, but their chief dependence for a living was upon the chase. Leaving their families at the mission villages, they went out in all direc-

tions in search of game, and brought back waggon-loads of sun-dried meat. The ivory and skins that they collected were exchanged in the colony for waggon-ammunition, clothing, coffee, and sugar, and so all went well while the game lasted.

But when the vast herds of antelopes, the lions, giraffes, rhinoceroses, and hippopotami were nearly all destroyed within a couple of hundred miles, the Griquas rapidly declined. Some of them turned marauders, and became a dreadful scourge to the Bantu clans within their reach. The best of them divided the territory into farms, many of which they sold or leased for long periods to colonial graziers who needed change of pasture for their cattle. Thus white men began to cross the Orange periodically, and as they, of course, did not consider themselves subject to the Griqua captains, difficulties in process of time became unavoidable.

This Griqua settlement put an end to the long strife between the Europeans and the Bushmen on the northern border of the Cape Colony. The wild people preyed upon their cattle and killed some of their hunters, and in return were pursued and shot down until they were all but exterminated. Some of the particulars, as told afterwards by evening fires, are harrowing to a European mind, but it is unnecessary to relate them here. There has been no trouble with Bushmen in South Africa since, for the number of that race left is so small that except in the Kalahari an individual is seldom met with.

The laws that made a distinction between Hottentots and Europeans in the colony were a subject of constant complaint by several missionaries of the London Society, and furnished the Reverend Dr. Philip with a theme that he was not slow in turning

to account. This gentleman both before and after his arrival in South Africa lived in an atmosphere of strife, and controversy seemed to be necessary to his existence. Like the Reverend Dr. Livingstone, the great explorer of later years, he had been a weaver in his younger days, and owed the fluency with which he spoke to practice in a debating club in Kirkcaldy. He was a man of great bodily vigour and natural ability, utterly fearless, and never known to turn back when once he entered on a course of action; but he had neither studied any subject deeply, nor was he particularly scrupulous as to the means by which he gained his ends. Successive governors regarded him as a dangerous factor in society, and other clergymen shared and openly expressed the same opinion. Such was the second superintendent of the London Missionary Society in South Africa, whom his admirers were fond of terming the Las Casas of the Hottentots.

At this time the great philanthropic societies of England were at the height of their power, and Dr. Philip was in the closest touch with them. In 1826 he returned to his native country on a visit, and while there published in 1828 a work in two volumes entitled *Researches in South Africa*, which was received with great favour, and though its most important statements were proved to be incorrect by the searching examination instituted by the government, it continued to be regarded as a text-book by Sir George Murray, Mr. Fowell Buxton, and many other influential men in office or in parliament. Meanwhile by direction of the secretary of state an ordinance had been passed by the governor and council in Capetown, removing from the coloured people all the restrictions imposed upon them by the

proclamations of the Earl of Caledon and Sir John Cradock, and through Dr. Philip's influence a clause was added to it before it was ratified, that it could not be altered in any way without the previous consent of the king in council.

The effect was something like giving a child of ten years of age the rights of a full-grown man. Most of the Hottentots at once ceased to work, and commenced to wander about the country begging and stealing, so that the farmers were exposed to severe losses, yet when an attempt was made soon afterwards to pass a vagrant act, it had to be abandoned on account of the opposition of Dr. Philip, who had returned to the colony, and who threatened to appeal to the people of England if it was approved by the council. It was believed in South Africa that the power of the governor was less than his, owing to the support he received from the great Societies.

There are few persons now who will deny that much harm was done to the coloured people by this measure, but later events have thrown a light upon it that Dr. Philip had not to see by. He acted upon the theory that there is absolute equality between all races, that protection in person and property is not sufficient for a people just emerging from barbarism, as any restriction of the liberty granted to a European is injustice when applied to a Hottentot.

Sir Lowry Cole determined to try if vagrancy could not be checked by giving the Hottentots an extensive tract of land to live upon. This was the old location or reserve system, which had repeatedly failed in past times, but it was thought to make an improvement in it by allotting the ground under individual tenure. The locality selected was the fertile and beautiful tract of land along the streams

that unite to form the Kat River, in the territory taken from Gaika by Lord Charles Somerset to form an unoccupied belt between the colonists and the Kaffirs. There each family was to receive from four to six acres of garden ground, to which free title deeds were to be issued after five years' occupation, and all that was unfit for the plough or spade was to remain as common pasture. The government was to provide seed for the first year free of charge.

Over two thousand individuals, many of whom had previously been living at the stations Bethelsdorp and Theopolis, were located on these terms at the Kat River. The governor, who wished to prevent interference by the London Society's missionaries, induced the Reverend Mr. Thomson, a clergyman of the Glasgow Society, to take up his residence in the location; but Dr. Philip sent one of his colleagues there also. The result was that the mixed breeds and more stable part of the people connected themselves with Mr. Thomson, and soon afterwards went over with him in a body to the Dutch Reformed Church, while the others adhered to the mission of the London Society. The two churches are in existence to the present day, but the congregations have moved on widely diverging paths, as will be seen in a later chapter. Even now the difference was beginning to be seen, for while Mr. Thomson's people sent a memorial to the government in favour of a vagrant act, the others were so strongly opposed to it that by Dr. Philip's direction they kept a day of special prayer that God would be pleased to avert such a calamity from them.

The Kat River Settlement was regarded with much suspicion by the frontier colonists, especially when the government issued arms and ammunition

to the people there to enable them to defend themselves against thieves, and when seven or eight hundred Kaffirs were allowed by the Hottentots to live among them. It was feared that the scenes witnessed at the beginning of the century might be repeated, but no disturbance took place for several years. Farther down the Kat River a military post named Fort Beaufort had been established some time before, and this acted as a check upon insurrection.



## CHAPTER XV.

## THE ZULU WARS OF EXTERMINATION.

IN all history, ancient or modern, there is no name with which more ruthless bloodshed is associated than with that of Tshaka, chief of the Zulus. It has been estimated that a million of human beings must have perished in Cæsar's wars in Gaul: that number was greatly exceeded in the butcheries caused directly or indirectly by Tshaka in South Africa. In neither case, however, is there material to form an exact computation, but if it be considered that the immense territory between the Umzimvubu River on the south and the Lake Nyassa on the north, the Indian Ocean on the east and the Kalahari Desert on the west, was subject to such ravages as God in His mercy seldom permits, that vast areas in this territory were either wholly or nearly depopulated, and that numerous tribes disappeared so completely as to leave nothing but the remembrance of their names behind them, an estimate of two millions of lives lost must be nearer the truth than that of one.

A destructive epidemic of smallpox among the Indians prepared the way for the colonisation of the New England States by white men, the same fell disease opened the southern coast belt of the Cape Colony to Europeans, the wars of Tshaka had a like effect for the country from the Umzimvubu to the Zambesi. If the terrible exterminator had never existed there would doubtless have been progress in

South Africa, but it would not have been the kind of progress that has taken place, there could have been no Orange Free State, or Transvaal Republic, or Rhodesian Colony.

Tshaka was the son of a chief of a petty tribe that lived on the banks of the Umvolosi River, and that bore the high-sounding title of Amazulu, the people of the skies. How or when this little federation of clans received such a lofty name cannot be ascertained, it was, however, of no very ancient origin. The families of the chiefs in that part of South Africa are usually the handsomest and most intelligent of the people, possibly owing to a larger admixture of Asiatic blood than that which courses in the veins of commoners, and among them all Tshaka as a boy was the cleverest and the best formed. He could hurl an assagai farther and with surer aim than any other youth of his age, there was no one in the tribe who could compete with him in trials of strength, in walking, or in parrying blows with the knobkerie. Had he been the great son and heir to the chieftainship, it would have been a mere act of courtesy for all others to have conceded to him the first place in athletic exercises, but he did not occupy that rank, and there is no reason to doubt that he was what tradition represents him to have been, the most daring and active individual in the community.

Most African chiefs are exceedingly jealous of those who are to succeed them, and on this account it usually happens that the great son, if he possesses ability, lives at a distance from his father and takes care not to make too much display of his talents. Towards sons of inferior rank, such as Tshaka, jealousy is not felt, because no danger is apprehended from them, but in this instance the young

man's abilities were so conspicuous and his praise was so loudly extolled that the chief thought it advisable to get rid of him. Tshaka, either learning or suspecting what was intended, fled in time to a neighbouring tribe which was then engaged in a career of conquest.

He was received with hospitality by the chief, whose name was Dingiswayo, and entered the army of his protector, in which he distinguished himself in such a way as to be raised to a position of command. After a time his father died, when Dingiswayo, to whom the succession was referred, passing by the legitimate heir, declared him chief of the Amazulu. As such he was accepted by the tribe, but remained with the army of the Abatetwa, and by his valour and skill rose step by step until he found himself its most distinguished general. Soon after he had attained this position Dingiswayo was vanquished in an engagement in which he commanded in person, was made prisoner, and was put to death by his enemy, leaving the succession in dispute, as his great wife had no male child. The army hereupon settled the matter by proclaiming Tshaka its chief, and the Abatetwa were incorporated with the Amazulu.

He was now the undisputed ruler of the most powerful tribe in South-Eastern Africa, but with each successful advance his ambition rose higher, until nothing short of sole sovereignty over the people as far as the country was known would satisfy him. His terrible career of conquest and extermination was about to begin.

It had always been a habit of the Bantu when in close combat to break their assagai shafts short so that they could be used to stab with. Tshaka had

learned by experience that the weapon in this state was much more effective, and he improved upon it by making the blade longer and heavier, so that it became equivalent to a short two-edged sword fit for cutting or piercing. This was made the warrior's chief instrument of offence, without which he could not return from battle under pain of death, but he carried also several ordinary assagais for throwing at a distance. The shield was enlarged, so as to cover its bearer's body more completely. The organisation into regiments was perfected, and an order of battle was devised in the form of a crescent, with a reserve in the shape of a parallelogram behind, ready to strengthen any hardly pressed point.

The warriors were well fed and constantly drilled until the army became as efficient as it was possible to make it. The women also were organised as gardeners, and upon them devolved the task of supplying the military camps with boiled corn and millet beer. Beef, however, was at all times largely consumed, and was the only diet when an army was on the march. The young men were not permitted to take wives without the consent of the chief, which was never given to a regiment until it had distinguished itself, in other words until it was steeped in human gore. No provocation was needed to cover an attack upon a tribe, the mere fact of its existence was regarded as sufficient motive to fall upon it.

Tshaka's first aggressive movement was against the people on his northern border. They tried to resist, and in anger he ordered them to be destroyed. No one was to be spared except the young girls, who were to be brought to him, and stout boys, who could serve as burden-bearers for the army. All the

others, men, women, and infants, were to be put to death. Their cattle were to be brought to him, and all other property was to be burnt. This system, once commenced, was carried out ever afterwards. Some tribes saved themselves by begging to be received as Zulus and conforming in all respects to the new customs, others tried to escape by cutting their way through those in advance, but most of them perished utterly.

Of those that fled, the first was under the chief Manikusa, otherwise called Sotshangana, who made his way to the Sabi River, creating awful havoc among the people along his line of march. He was followed by the tribe now known as the Angoni, who took a different route, but also arrived at the Sabi. There the fugitives quarrelled with each other and fought until the Angoni, obliged to move farther, directed their course across the Zambesi to the western shore of Lake Nyassa, where they remained to prey upon the earlier inhabitants. Sotshangana moved up and down from Delagoa Bay to the Zambesi, saturating the present Portuguese territory and Eastern Rhodesia with blood.

For a good many years he did not molest Europeans, but in October, 1833, the fort of Lourenço Marques was captured by his followers, and the whole of the garrison and inhabitants of the place were murdered. In November, 1834, Inhambane was plundered, and only ten individuals managed to escape the general slaughter. Two years later Sofala was taken and utterly destroyed with the whole of its inhabitants. Sena too was captured, and the greater part of the garrison lost their lives, but some of the residents and a few soldiers took refuge on an island in the Zambesi where Sotshangana's people

could not reach them, and they obtained terms of peace on condition of paying yearly tribute. For a time the Portuguese flag disappeared entirely from the mainland south of Sena, but the stations were all reoccupied some years later when the power of the invading horde had dwindled away.

Next to flee was the great tribe of the Amangwane, the little tigers, who thoroughly justified their name by the conduct which they pursued. Leaving their old home on the Umzinyati, they fell first upon the Hlubis, whom they dispersed, and then crossed the Drakensberg and attacked the people who occupied the northern portion of what is now Basutoland and the eastern portion of the Orange Free State. These, unable to stand the shock of Matiwane's horde, who had partly adopted the Zulu weapons, fled in their turn, and under the leadership of a woman named Ma Ntatisi crossed the Vaal River and turned to the north-west. The country before them was densely inhabited, but the people were not sufficiently intelligent to unite in a time of common danger. A section was therefore destroyed, its cattle and grain were devoured, and then the murderous horde moved on to the next. The titles of twenty-eight distinct tribes that went utterly out of existence were afterwards enumerated by some of the boys who were incorporated by the conquerors. A few miles from the present Bangwaketsi kraal of Kanye the first reverse was met, which turned the horde to the southward. A little later, in June, 1823, it was dispersed by a band of Griquas, who, being mounted, could attack it without much danger. One section, under Ma Ntatisi, then returned to the Upper Caledon; another, under the celebrated chief Sebetuane, taking the title of Makololo, moved north-

ward to the Zambesi valley, and some smaller divisions roamed about until nearly all perished.

Southward through the present colony of Natal Tshaka's army fought its way, every tribe upon which it fell either being exterminated or in its flight attacking some other, until in the whole territory from the Tugela to the Umzimvubu there were not ten thousand individuals left, and these were wretched fugitives concealing themselves in the thickets and in some instances subsisting by cannibalism. In this territory alone nearly half a million human beings must have perished. One large horde, under the chief Madikane, in trying to escape fled southward as far as the Umgwali River, where in December, 1824, it was attacked and defeated by the Kaffirs living just beyond the border of the Cape Colony. The vanquished people were of various tribes, but were all termed Amamfengu, that is vagrants, by their conquerors, from which Europeans have come to know them as Fingos. They were reduced to a condition of servitude by the Kaffirs, who treated them with harshness mingled with contempt. From time to time other small parties of fugitives reached the country between the Umzimvubu and the Kei, where they also were termed and treated as Fingos. These people have since played an important part in South African history, so it is well to know how and when they came so close to the colonial frontier.

In 1828 the Amangwane under Matiwane, having consumed everything along the Caledon and being compelled by a division of the Zulu army to abandon that territory, crossed the Drakensberg with the intention of ravaging the country between the Umzimvubu and the Kei. The government in

Capetown had at this time very little correct information of what was taking place in the interior, and all that was known of this invasion was that a large band of desperately savage warriors had come from somewhere, and that the Kaffir tribes adjoining the colony were threatened with destruction. Already one clan of considerable size had crossed into the division of Somerset, and it was probable that many more would follow. The government therefore sent a mixed military and burgher force to assist the Xosas and Tembus, by which Matiwane was attacked and his power was completely broken.

The only part of South Africa beyond the Umzimvubu occupied by Bantu that now remained undevastated was the centre of the continent from the Magalisberg to the Zambesi, between the lines of march of Sebetuane and Sotshangana. Into that territory went Umsilikazi, or Moselekatse as the name is usually written by Englishmen, at the head of a veteran Zulu army corps. All the others that have been mentioned were independent chiefs endeavouring to escape with undisciplined or only imperfectly trained bands; Moselekatse, too, was endeavouring to escape, but his position was that of a rebel and his followers had been among the best of Tshaka's troops.

His father had been an independent chief who to save himself had voluntarily sought admission into the Zulu tribe, and he had grown up in the army, a favourite of Tshaka, by whom he was made commander of an important division. On one occasion, after exterminating a tribe that he had been directed to destroy, he neglected to send the whole of the captured cattle to his master, when Tshaka, hearing of his disloyalty, immediately gave order for his



slaughter and that of all his band. Moselekatse received sufficient warning, and was able to effect his escape. With a force of from ten to fifteen thousand warriors, unencumbered with children or baggage, having only a few women with him and cattle for sustenance, there was nothing in the interior that could stop his progress wherever he chose to go.

His deliberate object was now to destroy every human being in his way, in order to create an absolutely uninhabited country over which no pursuers could march for want of food. Plunging into the tribes north of the Magalisberg, he marched on, leaving behind him a desert covered with bleaching bones and the ashes of the kraals he had burned. Like his old lord, he secured the comeliest girls, to be given as rewards to the regiments that he favoured, and strong lads, to be used as burden-bearers. In course of time these boys would plead to be admitted as soldiers into the army, and to gain favour would conduct themselves as ferociously as their masters, who were now known as the Matabele. Thus as years went on a change took place in the blood of this merciless band. The girls and boys incorporated in it were of the Betshuana branch of the Bantu, inferior in courage and in many other respects to the people along the coast from whom Tshaka obtained his recruits. The Matabele deteriorated, while the Zulus retained their pristine vigour.

When Moselekatse thought he was sufficiently far from Tshaka to be safe he settled down for a time, but in 1832 a Zulu army managed to reach him. It was beaten off after desperate fighting, and then the Matabele, not wishing to incur such a risk again, moved farther on and settled at Mosega, close to the western boundary of the South African Re-

public. The tribes in that direction could not be dealt with like those to the eastward, because their country favoured flight, but they were dispersed, impoverished, and driven into the Kalahari, where a large proportion of the people died of hunger and thirst. Among these tribes were the Bamangwato, Bakwena, Bangwaketsi, Bahurutsi, and Barolong of the present day.

Tshaka ruled his people with a severity almost beyond the imagination of a European. He could only be approached in the most abject attitude, and the least offence towards himself was punished with death. He never raised a woman to the rank of wife, through fear of the possible rivalry of an heir, but his concubines, consisting of the comeliest of the captive girls, numbered over a thousand. They were carefully guarded, though he was in the habit of presenting one of them occasionally to a favourite. The cattle taken in the murdering expeditions that he sent out were all claimed by him, and his generosity was highly praised when he allotted some of them to different regiments to be slaughtered for food. His bare word was the law of the land, and a sign from him could send any man, woman, or child in the country to death, yet his subjects revered him and were filled with pride of the position his great ability had placed them in.

At length, however, a great disaster overtook a large army that he sent against Sotshangana, and when intelligence was received that it was retreating in the utmost distress, two of his half-brothers and his favourite attendant conspired against him. He was sitting in one of his cattle kraals unsuspecting of danger when they approached, and his servant, suddenly drawing a concealed

weapon, stabbed him in the back. He begged for mercy, but Dingan, his half-brother, repeated the blow, and Tshaka the terrible lay a corpse on the ground. This was in September, 1828, and the place where the deed was committed was south of the Tugela, in the present colony of Natal.

Dingan then became the head of the Zulu tribe. His character was even worse than that of Tshaka, for he was as merciless as a tiger and as treacherous as he was cruel, and if he was not an exterminator on a large scale it was only because there were no tribes left within his reach to destroy. He fixed his residence at Umkungunhlovu, in the Umvolosi valley, and ruled his people with fearful severity. The vultures in his neighbourhood were fat, it was said, for he fed them on human flesh.

The events here recorded occupied a period of nearly twenty-five years, or from about 1811 to 1835. At its close Sebetuane was residing at Linyanti, where Dr. Livingstone afterwards found him, So-tshangana was on the lower Sabi, Moselekatse at Mosega, and Dingan at Umkungunhlovu. Their warriors were constantly raiding in all directions, so that the only other Bantu between the Zambesi and the Umzimvubu, except in part of the territory now known as Matabeleland, were in an abject condition, hiding in rugged mountains, or thickets, or desert places, and the open country was a vast untenanted waste. The powerful tribes that the Portuguese had found along the eastern coast and that their missionaries and traders had reached inland, with those that once inhabited the South African Republic and the Orange Free State, had vanished from sight, and only a few wretched remnants under new designations remained. Those that the assagai had

not reached famine had claimed, for there was no planting or gathering of grain in that dark time of murderous war.

In one locality, however, the praises of a chief not yet named had been sung for nearly a dozen years, and no Bantu ruler ever deserved this tribute to greatness more than he. Moshesh, the chief referred to, was not of high birth, though a member of a branch of the ruling family of a petty clan, but he possessed abilities that enabled him to become a leader in a time of turmoil. He was in the prime of life when in 1824 he fixed his residence on Thaba Bosigo, a natural mountain fortress so strong that, though often besieged, it has never yet been taken either by European or Bantu foe. Here he invited refugees of any name or from any place to join him, and by treating them with all possible consideration succeeded in gaining their firm attachment. His father was still living, as were other members of his family of higher rank than he, but all acknowledged his superior intellect and willingly submitted to his authority. Opposition from members of other ruling houses whose subjects took refuge with him was silenced with the assagai, the only charge of cruelty that has ever been brought against him, but that was perhaps unavoidable under the circumstances.

Crafty as only one of his race can be, ambitious, and fond of authority, he was yet one of the most cautious and prudent of men. Whoever was powerful in or near his mountains, of him Moshesh professed to be the most attached dependent. To Tshaka and to Dingan he forwarded all the furs he could collect, with assurances of his devotion. When Moselekatse sent an army to besiege Thaba Bosigo

and food ran short, he supplied it, and so averted the storm. Never before was such tact heard of by the Southern Bantu. The Griqua marauders gave him much trouble, but even them he managed to appease at last. Cannibals who had killed and eaten his own grandfather were furnished by him with grain and invited to become his subjects. They were the graves of men, he said, and as such he would regard and respect them.

And so this wise chief of the mountain, as he was called in allusion to his stronghold of Thaba Bosigo, was gathering refugees about him, and beginning to form the great Basuto tribe of our day. At this time he was still poor, and his followers were only a few hundred in number. Though the Drakensberg separated him from Dingan and a wide tract of country from Moselekatse, there was no possibility of his becoming a really powerful chief while they remained where they were, and he was fully aware that no matter how he might try to conciliate, only obscurity could save him from destruction. He will be met with often again in the course of this narrative.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES.

THERE is no word more hateful to an Englishman of the present day than Slavery. It brings to his mind degradation indescribable, cruelty unchecked, injustice unbearable. But it was not always so. At the beginning of the century the British officers in South Africa were loud in their denunciations of the French for having ruined fair possessions over the sea by freeing the negro bondsmen, and could find no more appropriate subject on which to appeal to the colonists for loyalty and gratitude to England than for saving them from the fate of the planters of Guadeloupe. Never had so many negroes been imported yearly for sale as during the period from 1795 to 1803, when the British flag waved over the castle of Good Hope. In 1806 the conquest by Sir David Baird actually prevented the emancipation that the Batavian Republic had resolved gradually to carry out. But the pendulum of public opinion had now swung to the opposite side in England, and the freedom of the negro was dear to the nation's heart.

Slavery is in truth an institution to be detested. But it should not be judged solely by what civilised men and women would suffer if reduced to that condition, for even in its worst form it was in all European colonies an improvement upon the ordinary existence of millions of the children of Africa. Com-

pare with it the condition of the natives along the Zambesi at the close of the sixteenth century, after the irruption of the Amazimba, as described in the Portuguese records of the time, the condition of the wretched survivors of Tshaka's butcheries, of the Bakalahari when white men first appeared in Betshuanaland, even of the Mashona fifteen years ago, when the original fierceness of their Matabele conquerors had largely died out, and it will seem a system of benevolence and mercy. The African, whose ancestors through all time had been accustomed to see the strong despise and trample upon the weak, felt no degradation in serving the white man, whom he instinctively recognised as his superior.

Still that does not justify the European in making a slave of the negro. The greater harm done was to the white man himself. If progress is a law of God,—and who can doubt that it is?—what a crime was committed when the African was transported to lands where the Caucasian could live and thrive! It was a crime that nature punishes with the most terrible severity. Look at the idle, clamorous, unthrifty, unstable lazzaroni of Southern Italy or Southern Portugal to-day: how very different those fair countries would be if no negro had ever mixed his blood with the once energetic and lordly races that held the land.

In South Africa slavery, owing to the industries being almost entirely confined to the cultivation of wheat and the vine and the herding of cattle, was of the very mildest type. The Dutch are neither more humane nor more cruel than English people, but the conditions in which they lived favoured the negroes. It would have been possible to have found in the Cape Colony a model for the celebrated statue

of the scourged slave in the museum at Brussels, just as a model for a similar statue of a horribly ill-treated white man might occasionally be found in London, or Paris, or Montreal; but it would no more have represented an ordinary occurrence in one case than in the other. There are many chapters in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* that could have been written in South Africa by selecting incidents of different periods and localities, and representing them as events in the life of one individual; but some chapters during the eighteenth century would there have been recognised by every one as creations of imaginative power alone, as the Dutch laws gave freedom to the mulatto and to any woman who bore a child of which her master was the father. The same laws prescribed heavy penalties for excessive cruelty, but a slave was not always able to bring a charge against his owner, so that in practice his treatment rested mainly upon humanity, interest, and the facility with which he could escape in a thinly populated country.

The early English governors reported that the slaves in the colony were in as comfortable circumstances as agricultural labourers in Great Britain, and all other trustworthy testimony is to the same effect. But the spirit of the nineteenth century was opposed to the continuation of the system, and practically every one recognised after 1828 that sooner or later it must come to an end. How to bring about emancipation without ruining the Europeans became the most important question of the day.

In June, 1828, a Society was formed in Cape-town for the purpose of aiding slaves to procure their freedom. It hoped to obtain assistance from the British treasury and from benevolent persons in



England, but failed in these expectations. Still, by means almost entirely of local subscriptions it managed thereafter to purchase the liberty of about twenty-five young girls yearly. This was evidently too small a number to produce an appreciable reduction in the great mass of slaves, so the Society, though deserving the title of benevolent, cannot be regarded as an effective emancipating agency.

In 1816 legislation reducing the authority of the masters began, with the promulgation of very stringent regulations regarding the registration of births, deaths, manumissions, and sales. It was followed in 1823 by a law prohibiting the separation by sale of married slaves or of parents and children under ten years of age, requiring children from three to ten years of age to be sent to school at least three days in the week, restricting the hours of labour, allowing slaves to acquire property, and limiting the power of punishment. To this the colonists made no objection until the slaves, finding they could claim as a right what previously they had received as a privilege, began to be insubordinate, and serious disturbances took place, which created a fear of a general negro insurrection.

In 1826 further legislation directed from England required slaves to be paid for all work performed on the Sabbath, and gave them the right to compel their masters to liberate them or any of their relatives at a price to be fixed by valuers. It also created protectors to look after their interests and to see that the laws in their favour were strictly carried out. The colonists now protested that the relationship between them and their bondsmen was so strained that it would not bear further tension.

In October of this year the Graaff-Reinet resolu-

tions, as they were afterwards generally termed, were adopted at a mass meeting in that district. The first was that the English government should be requested to desist from issuing further vexatious enactments, on condition that every female child born after a date to be fixed by that government should be free at birth, in order that slavery might gradually cease. This was carried unanimously. The second was that all male children born after the same date should also be free. This was carried by a majority, the minority objecting unless compensation was given. A deputation was sent to Capetown to lay these resolutions before the governor, and to consult with deputies from the other districts.

The Graaff-Reinet resolutions were generally adopted throughout the colony, and constituted the South African plan of emancipation. But the British authorities would have nothing to do with it, as they would neither bind themselves in any way nor consider a scheme which would work so gradually.

In 1830 an order in council was issued, which applied to Trinidad, Berbice, Demerara, St. Lucia, the Cape of Good Hope, and Mauritius. It defined the hours of labour for slaves, what food they were to be provided with, how they were to be clothed, and much more of a similar nature. It required exactly the same provision for a South African cattle-herd as for a labourer on a West Indian sugar plantation, and contained clauses which it was not possible to carry into effect had the masters been ever so willing to do so. The irritation in the colony now became intense, and was increased when in 1831 another order in council was issued limiting the working hours to nine daily, and giving the protectors power

to enter the dwelling-houses of slaves on estates whenever they chose.

In September, 1832, a meeting of about two thousand slaveholders from all parts of the country was held in Capetown, when resolutions were carried unanimously asking for an elective legislative assembly to make laws adapted to the condition of the country, and pledging themselves if that were granted not only to improve the condition of the slaves as far as possible, but to provide for the extinction of slavery itself. They still clung to the Graaff-Reinet resolutions as furnishing a feasible plan for that purpose.

The excitement was so great that it was regarded as a relief when intelligence was received that in August, 1833, an emancipation act had been passed by the imperial parliament. It was supposed that as a matter of course a vagrant act would be promulgated before the day of liberation, and that the compensation granted would be not far short of the real value of the slaves. In that case things would be better than they had been for a long time past.

The imperial act provided that after the 1st of December, 1834, every slave was to be free, that all over six years of age were to be apprenticed to their former masters for four years under certain conditions, and that compensation to the amount of ninety-six million dollars should be given to the proprietors in the nineteen slaveholding colonies of Great Britain, the share of each colony to be determined by a careful estimate of the value of its slaves.

Appraisers were thereupon appointed by the governor, and though in many cases the valuations were objected to by the proprietors as being far too low, they acted according to certain defined rules of classi-

fication as honestly and fairly as they possibly could under the circumstances. It was ascertained that on the 30th of November, 1834, there were in the colony thirty-nine thousand and twenty-one slaves. Of these, three thousand two hundred and seventy-six were aged, infirm, or otherwise unfit for labour, and were regarded as having no pecuniary value. The remaining thirty-five thousand seven hundred and forty-five were appraised at \$14,598,193.

On the 1st of December, 1834, slavery ceased in the Cape Colony. The negroes themselves were not very jubilant over the change to apprenticeship, as their idea of freedom was a condition of idleness, and for that they would still have to wait four years. The colony was now divided into fourteen districts, in each of which an official was stationed for the sole purpose of watching over the interests of the apprentices and carrying out the emancipation act.

For a few weeks everything went on smoothly and quietly, as the former masters were to a large extent reconciled to the position. The first alarm was caused by intelligence that the authorities in England were opposed to a vagrant act being put in force, so that there would be no restriction upon vagabondism. Next, late in 1835 came information that the appraisement of the slaves in all the colonies was completed, and the sum voted by parliament having been apportioned according to the valuation, the share that the Cape would receive was found to be \$5,987,524.

The receipt of this intelligence caused such a panic as had never been known in South Africa before. At once the various institutions for lending money upon security of mortgages, foreseeing general bankruptcy, began to press for payment of their

bonds, and property of all kinds was sold for whatever it would bring. A few speculators who had funds to invest were enriched, but the country people especially were sorely pressed.

The worst was not even yet known. Every mail from England brought word of some new trouble, until finally it was ascertained that all the expense of carrying out the emancipation act would be deducted from the ninety-six million dollars before any claims were paid, so that no one could receive any money for a long time, that the claims would have to be proved before commissioners in London, where the amounts would be settled in three and a half per cent. stock, and that the certificate relating to each slave must be written on a stamp of seven dollars and twenty cents. Can it be wondered that the colonists after this used the word Confiscation as a more appropriate term than Emancipation when speaking of the Act?

The late slaveholders could not go to England to make good their claims, and their distressed condition was taken advantage of by speculators, who bought their certificates usually for about half their value. In this way, instead of receiving a third of the appraised amount, very few received more than a fifth or sixth. Several indignantly refused to put in their claims at all, preferring nothing to a mere trifle under the name of compensation.

The distress brought upon the late slaveholders by the sudden emancipation without a reasonable equivalent was so great that it would be difficult to exaggerate it. Many individuals were reduced from affluence to extreme poverty, and were never again able to recover their position. The class of planters near the Cape peninsula that one reads of in old

books of travel, who lived in a luxurious style and whose hospitality was unbounded, at whose houses the governors, high officials, and strangers of note were sumptuously entertained, simply went out of existence. It was not only the absolute loss of some ten millions of dollars by a small community, but the stagnation of agricultural industry of every kind that followed through want of labourers, which caused such widespread misery that many persons sank altogether beneath it. Some kinds of agriculture have not even yet recovered from the check they then sustained.

Still harder to bear than the poverty brought upon the unfortunate people was the exuberant rejoicing of the philanthropists and the tone of the abolitionist press. There was not one word, one thought of sympathy for them. Instead of that they were taunted as if they had been oppressors, and the deliberate falsehood was spread abroad—a falsehood to this day often echoed by the prejudiced and the ignorant—that they were opposed to emancipation of the negroes. The act, as it was carried out, was extolled as among the noblest and most glorious ever performed by a nation, and the truth was suppressed that they too were ready and willing to extinguish slavery, and that without the cost of a cent to the British treasury, provided it was done in such a way as not to bring ruin upon themselves and their children.

There is no one who would desire the old condition of things to be restored, though of the effect of emancipation upon the negroes and their descendants it is possible for reflecting, honest, Christian men to differ in opinion. When the apprenticeship was ended, nearly the whole of the freed people moved

into Capetown or the villages, in the expectation of being able to live without labour. The philanthropists favoured this course of action, as it was believed that Christian influence could be more readily brought to bear upon them when massed together than if they were scattered about on farms. There they were welcomed by the agents of missionary societies and benevolent institutions of many kinds, who competed for the privilege of working among them until the negroes came to regard it as bestowing their patronage upon an association when they accepted its favours. The children were sent out to work for the benefit of their parents, who drew their wages, but did little themselves.

And what is the result as seen to-day? The majority of their descendants are neither better fed, clothed, or housed than they were as slaves, they are neither so cleanly in their apparel nor so becoming in their conduct. Every old resident in the colony deplores the deterioration that has been gradually going on among them in these respects. They are careless, thoughtless, improvident to the last degree. Given a sufficiency for the wants of to-day, they have no concern for the needs of to-morrow, so that in old age and in sickness they are mainly dependent upon charity. They are fond of noisy amusements, and are in general addicted to drunkenness. As labourers they cannot be relied upon, for they are able to exist without working six days in the week as white men have to do.

But every human being—the negro as well as the European—should have full and unrestricted liberty to improve his position if he wishes to do so, and the slave was cut off from that natural right. Against the description given above can be set that of a con-

siderable number of the descendants of the emancipated people—especially of those with a mixture of Javanese, Indian, or European blood in their veins—who lead orderly, respectable, industrious lives, many of whom have acquired property in land and cottages, and who differ in appearance from European peasants only in colour. Seen particularly on Sabbaths at their places of worship, they are evidence sufficient that slavery in their case was a violation of right. It is said that they are not morally on a level with Europeans, how can it be expected in reason that they should be? They are at least as high morally as those Europeans who lead their young females astray, and who are not usually of the proletariat class themselves. In these sentences one of the greatest dangers to the South Africa of the future is pointed out.

The emancipation of the slaves, though it almost destroyed agriculture, had an important influence in advancing the pastoral industry of the country. Efforts had been made ever since the foundation of the colony to introduce wool-bearing sheep. Many of the governors, Dutch as well as English, had interested themselves in this matter, but always without success. Several of the British immigrants of 1820 and some enterprising Dutch colonists in Swellendam, however, had of late years been farming with merino sheep, and the industry was fairly established in 1834, though it was then conducted on such a small scale that the value of the wool produced was less than forty-five thousand dollars a year.

The reason of this slow progress was that breeding sheep had always been regarded as subsidiary to rearing horned cattle, and the native large-tailed hair-covered breed was much hardier than the merino



and produced a larger carcase for the butcher. But now breeding sheep for their wool was resorted to as an occupation that required very little labour, and herds could be had when ploughmen were not obtainable. It was soon found that sheep would thrive during the whole year on the great arid Karoo plains, where there is not a blade of grass to be seen in the summer season, but where nature supplies a succulent shrub whose roots run down to such a depth that it does not perish in the severest drought. Two or three acres of ground are needed here to sustain a sheep, but the area of the Karoo being something like fifty thousand square miles, a great number could be pastured on it. The grass-covered country on each side was also found to be in most places adapted for sheep runs, so this branch of industry rapidly grew, and by the middle of the century the wool exported yearly was valued at over a million dollars.

## CHAPTER XVII.

## THE SIXTH WAR WITH THE KAFFIRS.

LORD CHARLES SOMERSET'S plan of preventing difficulties with the Xosas by having a tract of unoccupied land between them and the colonists was a complete failure. It might have succeeded if there had been a sufficient number of soldiers to patrol the whole border from the mountains to the sea in such strength as to prevent any one passing through, but that was out of the question. The troops at Forts Willshire and Beaufort could not even check the illicit trade carried on by Europeans, much less keep Kaffir cattle-thieves from crossing over at their will. A successful cattle-lifter among the Xosas was regarded as a champion cricket-player is in England, he was a man of whose skill and ability his companions were proud. There was thus both honour and profit to be gained by thinning the herds of the Europeans in the colony, and there was just sufficient risk of being shot in the enterprise to give it that excitement which Kaffirs, like white men, are fond of. There was no disgrace of any kind attached to it, except that a young fellow who went out for a couple of cows and returned without them would be subjected to a good deal of banter.

Naturally the British settlers in Albany and the Dutch colonists in Somerset looked at this matter from another standpoint. They were continually crying out for protection, and as it occasionally happened that a white man was murdered in trying to

defend or recover his property, the government was compelled to listen. Then some new plan would be devised, only in its turn to fail as a remedy. The first of these plans was to allow Makoma and Tyali, sons of Gaika, to occupy a portion of the vacant territory. It was believed that the robbers were adherents of Ndlambe, and that if Gaika's sons, who were regarded as friends of the government, were stationed in front of them, they would be unable to pass through. But in reality, as far as cattle-lifting was concerned, there was no difference between the clans, for to them all, being without moral scruples in the matter, the temptation to appropriate fat kine was too great to be resisted.

Then a change was made which reversed the whole system of British policy towards the Xosas. The Reverend William Shaw, a Wesleyan missionary living with Ndlambe's people at the station Mount Coke, interested himself in improving the condition of that section of the tribe, and exerted his influence in effecting a friendly arrangement between them and the government. In January, 1824, the alliance with Gaika was formally abandoned, and Ndlambe and his partisans were acknowledged to be independent of that chief and were promised that if they would behave themselves as friends they would not be molested anywhere east of the Keiskama. Shortly afterwards Pato, son of Cungwa, was permitted to occupy ground west of the Keiskama near the sea. All this was done with the very best intention, and, as was believed at the time, in the cause of peace. But from that moment Makoma and Tyali became the enemies of the colonial government, who, according to their view, had obtained a grant of ground from their father and then abandoned him.

Their conduct became so provoking, and the thefts by their people were so considerable, that it was necessary on several occasions to make reprisals from them, and at length, in May, 1829, Makoma was driven over the Tyumie by a military expedition. In February, 1828, the old chief Ndlambe died, and as his legitimate heir was of feeble intellect, he was practically succeeded by a minor son who leaned upon the Gaikas for support. Gaika himself, worn out with drunkenness and debauchery, died in November, 1829. His great wife was mother of a boy named Sandile, who was then too young to rule, so that Makoma was chosen as regent, and became the most powerful chief near the border. Formal war with the colony was now delayed only till the first favourable opportunity,—and the Kaffir knows well how to bide his time,—but the condition of things was certainly not what can be termed a state of peace. Constant thefts were carried on, and the small military force on the border was worn out by frequent expeditions of reprisal, which the Xosas hardly regarded, as the restrictions imposed by civilisation prevented anything like what they would consider real punishment.

In December, 1834, the troops on the frontier consisted of a weak battalion of infantry, the Cape corps, and a few artillerymen. Altogether they numbered only eight hundred and thirty-five officers and men, and they had six posts to guard in addition to their patrol duty. At this time some horses belonging to the officers at Fort Beaufort were stolen, and as they were traced to one of Tyali's kraals, a lieutenant with a sergeant and twelve men were sent to recover them. The lieutenant seized some oxen, which he stated would be detained until the

horses were surrendered, and then set out on his return. The Kaffirs followed, and until the fort was reached a running skirmish was carried on, in which the cattle were lost and a soldier was wounded. On the Xosa side two men were killed and two others slightly wounded, one of the latter being a brother of Tyali.

This served as a pretence for Makoma and Tyali to make a general call to arms. The blood of a son of Gaika had been shed, they announced, and nothing but the blood of white people could wash out the indignity. The warriors of nearly all the clans west of the Kei assembled at the call, Gaikas and Ndlambes united, and on the evening of the 21st of December, 1834, from twelve to fifteen thousand men in large parties crossed the border along its whole length from the Winterberg to the sea. Spreading over the districts of Albany and Somerset, they burned and destroyed everything in their way, murdered all the white men who could not escape, and then retired with the spoil.

The British settlers who had been in comfortable circumstances on their farms, as well as their Dutch neighbours, were utterly impoverished by this sudden raid. Fortunately, nearly the whole of the people in the open country had warning in time to escape to Grahamstown or some of the villages, or to construct lagers by drawing waggons together, none of which were attacked. The residents of Bathurst, fearing they would be unable to defend themselves, abandoned that village, however, and fled to Grahams-town. In the open country twenty-two white men were murdered and four hundred and fifty-six houses were burned. In round numbers 5,700 horses, 115,000 head of horned cattle, and 162,000 sheep

and goats were driven off. Altogether, the property destroyed and swept away was worth nearly a million and a half of dollars according to a careful official estimate subsequently made.

In the Kaffir country itself the trading stations were all pillaged, and ten of their owners were murdered, but the others with the missionaries and their families were allowed to retire to places of safety. The small military force could do nothing more than defend the posts nearest the border: the three farthest in advance, including Fort Willshire, had to be abandoned.

As soon as intelligence of the invasion reached Capetown burgher commandos were called out and preparations were made to send every soldier who could be spared from guarding the forts to the eastern frontier. Colonel—afterwards Sir Harry—Smith set out on horseback to organise a force with which to meet the enemy, and reached Grahamstown on the 6th of January, 1835. He was an old campaigner, but only once before, he declared,—when the Portuguese were fleeing before a French army—had he seen such devastation as met his eye on the journey and such misery as he witnessed on his arrival. The churches were turned into shelters for fugitive women and children, all business had ceased, the streets were barricaded, the whole male population was under arms, and there was a difficulty in obtaining food for so many who were destitute. But in a few days the energetic colonel organised and equipped a considerable force, with which various small parties at a distance were rescued, and Fort Willshire was reoccupied.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban reached Grahamstown on the 20th of January, and shortly afterwards the

troops and burgher commandos began to arrive. Provisions were hurried up, and the destitute people were permitted to draw rations from the commissariat stores. The Kaffirs who were still in the colony gleaning any remains of spoil were pursued and driven out, and by the 11th of February such a strong force was assembled that they could be attacked in the fastnesses of the Fish River, which they were occupying. From these they were expelled after three days' fighting, but not without considerable loss on the European side. Most of them then retreated to the forests along the Amatola mountains. The cattle captured in the colony had meantime been driven over the Kei and placed in charge of Hintsa, who was nominally paramount chief of the whole Xosa tribe, though practically the Gaikas and Ndlambes were nearly independent.

Some weeks were now devoted to establishing a base of operations, bringing provisions forward, and driving out little parties of Kaffirs who had managed to slip round and get into the rear of Sir Benjamin D'Urban's army. Then, early in April, the enemy was attacked along the Amatola and driven from every position which they tried to defend.

On the 15th of April Sir Benjamin D'Urban with a strong division of his force crossed the Kei to compel Hintsa to restore the captured cattle. The Kaffirs on the eastern side were not treated as enemies, nor was their property disturbed in any way, until the Wesleyan mission station Butterworth, which was found in ruins, was reached. Here several Fingo captains met the governor and requested to be taken under his protection. Their application caused him to resolve upon a plan for the settlement of the Kaffir difficulty, which was to locate these remnants of

broken tribes in front of the Xosas, so that they might form a kind of buffer along the border, and to place the territory between the Fish River and the Kei under British rule.

The time allowed to Hintsa to comply with the governor's demands expired without his taking any notice of them, so military operations were commenced and several thousand head of cattle were captured. The chief then offered to visit the British camp and arrange terms of peace provided his personal safety was guaranteed, and on this condition on the 29th of April with fifty followers he came to the governor's headquarters. On the following day he agreed to the terms proposed, which included the immediate delivery of twenty-five thousand head of horned cattle and five hundred horses. The chief voluntarily offered to remain as a hostage in the British camp until the conditions were fulfilled, so part of the army at once set out on its return march to the colony.

The Fingo captains were now directed to collect their people in order to remove to the territory in which the governor resolved to locate them. They were already fighting with the Xosas, and on being assured of British protection were indifferent as to how they aggravated their former oppressors. On learning that some of them had been killed, the governor informed Hintsa that if they were not permitted to leave without molestation, he and his attendants would all be hanged, as the pledge of personal safety could not be binding if he allowed his people to murder British subjects. Thereupon the Fingos were permitted to go, and they took with them over twenty-two thousand head of cattle belonging to the Xosas, which they seized with impunity, as Hintsa's



followers feared for the life of their chief. No one has ever attempted to justify this action, and the only excuse that it is possible to make is that Sir Benjamin D'Urban really believed the cattle to be the property of the Fingos themselves. These people, numbering about seventeen thousand souls, were located along the eastern bank of the Fish River upwards from the sea, and thus the Bantu race was assisted in its general march westward.

It was ascertained that the cattle swept off from the colony had been driven into the valley of the Bashee, and as Hintsa asserted that his followers would not obey his orders to deliver the number mentioned in the agreement of peace, a body of mounted troops under command of Colonel Smith was sent to seize them. The chief offered to accompany the expedition as a guide, and was provided with a horse for the purpose. But he and his people at heart regarded the protection given to the Fingos in their robbery as a cancellation of the terms of peace, and had no intention of restoring the colonists' cattle. On the way the chief made a bold dash for liberty, and succeeded in getting into a wooded glen, where he turned upon his pursuers, but fell dead from a gunshot.

As soon as this intelligence reached the governor, Kreli, Hintsa's great son, was recognised as chief, and an agreement of peace was made with him, in which the Kei was recognised as his western border and he promised to restore the colonists' cattle. Immediately after this the troops withdrew from his territory.

On the 16th of May Sir Benjamin D'Urban issued a proclamation declaring the country between the Keiskama and the Tyumie on one side and the

Kei from its source in the Stormberg to the sea on the other a British possession, under the name of the Province of Queen Adelaide. He intended to station a body of troops in it, and to bring the Kaffirs there under civilised government and influence. A site for a military post was selected on the left bank of the Buffalo River, and as the plan included the settlement of Europeans in the vicinity, it received the name King-Williamstown.

While the principal part of the British force was beyond the Kei, the Kaffirs on the western side rallied, and took advantage of the opportunity to send raiding parties into the colony again. Nine more Europeans were murdered, but very little booty was obtained, as there was hardly anything left that could be seized. The governor found that the Gaikas and Ndlambes were as strong as ever, and that the work of conquering them was still to be done. For this he had no force at the time. The burghers, who served without pay, were under the necessity of returning to their homes, as the planting season was well advanced, and if they did not get in seed there would certainly be a famine in the land. There was even then the greatest difficulty in obtaining food.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban therefore constructed a number of simple defensible posts in different parts of the Province of Queen Adelaide and in the territory between the Keiskama and Fish Rivers, which he garrisoned with soldiers, colonial volunteers, and such trustworthy coloured men as could be engaged at soldiers' pay. The farmers were then given leave of absence for time sufficient to plough and sow their ground.

In September they returned to the scene of hostilities, and just at this time a regiment of soldiers

arrived to relieve another in the colony, which was, however, detained by the governor. A strong force was therefore ready to take the field, which caused the Kaffirs in the Amatola fastnesses to express an inclination for peace. Sir Benjamin D'Urban on his part was exceedingly anxious to bring the war to a close. He had come to South Africa in the most complete sympathy with the great philanthropic societies, and although his views had undergone a change since he had learned to know the Hottentots and the Kaffirs as they really were, he had not lost a particle of true benevolence or a fraction of his old desire to benefit the coloured races. If peace could be made on fair conditions, he was of opinion that it would be a crime to shed another drop of blood.

He had considered it necessary to prohibit one of the missionaries of the London Society from having intercourse with the Hottentots of the Kat River Settlement while the war lasted, and the Reverend Dr. Philip was now his most bitter opponent, but the Scotch and Wesleyan missionaries—with one sole exception—supported him and were ready to work with him for the good of whites and blacks alike. Through the medium of some of the Wesleyan missionaries communications were opened with the Gaika and Ndlambe chiefs, and an arrangement was made by which they agreed to become British subjects and to submit to certain civilised laws. In return they were to be protected in every way, and to be at liberty to govern their people according to ancient custom, though under the general supervision of British officials. Each chief had a tract of land assigned to him so extensive that when all were provided for nothing was left for European occupation

but the narrow belt between the Buffalo and Nahoon rivers from King-Williamstown to the sea.

To the British agricultural settlers in Albany and their Dutch neighbours in Somerset this war was the cause of as much misery as the sudden emancipation of the slaves to the farmers of the western divisions of the colony. They had been in comfortable circumstances, and they were now reduced to extreme poverty: what need is there to say more? It is true that about sixty thousand head of cattle had been recovered, but many of these were slaughtered to feed the forces in the field, and more than half of the whole number perished from being driven about hurriedly and herded together without sufficient grass. The waste of animal life in such warfare is always enormous, and the Kaffirs themselves, though their booty was so large, were much poorer at the close of 1835 than they had been in 1834. The Fingos were the only gainers by the contest. They had now a country of their own, where they were under British protection, and they had a sufficiency to make a fair start according to their ideas of comfort and prosperity.

In the Province of Queen Adelaide a system of government was established which received the approbation of every European in South Africa except the few who held the opinions of the superintendent of the London Missionary Society. These, true to their principles, maintained that a great wrong was inflicted on the Gaikas and Ndlambes in depriving them of their independence, and they professed to regard Sir Benjamin D'Urban with horror for acting as he had done. Colonel Smith was stationed in King-Williamstown with civil and military control over the territory. Gentlemen of ability and

merit were selected to reside with the different chiefs as advisers and in serious criminal cases to send the persons accused to King-Williamstown for trial, for which purpose they were provided with a few policemen. To the chiefs was left the power of trying petty criminal cases and all civil cases whatever. Commerce in useful articles was thrown open to respectable traders, but the sale of munitions of war and intoxicating liquors was strictly prohibited. The missionaries were encouraged to return and resume their labours.

To oppose this system the Reverend Dr. Philip went to England, taking with him a Kaffir and a Hottentot trained in his schools. The philanthropic societies gave him a very warm greeting, and under their auspices he made a tour through the country, in which he and his protégés addressed immense gatherings of people and were received with the wildest enthusiasm. A committee of the House of Commons was taking evidence upon the condition of the aborigines in British settlements, and before these gentlemen too they appeared and stated their views.

There are times in the lives of all nations when reason and justice seem to be obscured, when even the clearest-minded men fall into the strangest errors of thought. It is so as these lines are being written with the people of France, it was so with the people of our England when Dr. Philip, Jan Tshatshu, and Andries Stoffels were giving their views upon South African matters before the committee of which Mr. Fowell Buxton was the chairman. Let any one analyse the evidence in that bulky blue book upon aborigines and compare it with the decision of the committee, and he will find it the counterpart of the evidence

and judgment in the court-martial at Rennes upon Alfred Dreyfus. All the evidence as to facts given by competent and experienced officers was ignored, and the views and opinions of Dr. Philip were acted upon. No greater gulf between lines of thought of the same people at different times can be found in history than between those of our own countrymen in 1835 and 1899.

Lord Glenelg, who was then secretary of state for the colonies, was entirely of Dr. Philip's political creed. He determined to undo all that Sir Benjamin D'Urban had done, and in a despatch, dated 26th of December, 1835, he threw all blame for the war upon the colonists and the colonial government, justifying the Kaffirs, who, he said, had been urged to revenge and desperation by the systematic injustice of which they had been the victims.

It mattered little that the legislative council, the colonists, English and Dutch alike, and nearly the whole of the missionaries took part with the governor, Lord Glenelg's will outweighed them all. A gentleman who could be depended upon to carry out his wishes in letter and in spirit was sent out as lieutenant-governor of the eastern districts, and British authority was withdrawn not only from the Province of Queen Adelaide, but from the territory between it and the Fish River. Even Fort Willshire was abandoned, with all the posts Sir Benjamin D'Urban had established.

Treaties were then entered into with the chiefs as sovereign and independent potentates, and officers were stationed with them having the title of British Agents and the functions of consuls. A greater farce could not well be conceived. They neither understood the nature of the documents to which

they affixed their marks, nor were they in a position to carry out such treaties if they had understood them. And so the condition of affairs on the Kaffir border was thrown back to what it had been twenty years before.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## THE BEGINNING OF THE GREAT EMIGRATION.

WE have now reached the gloomiest period in the history of the Cape Colony, when from one end of the country to the other nothing was to be seen but misery and distress. The British settlers, who had expected to receive at least sympathy from their countrymen at home, if not practical assistance from the imperial government to enable them to rebuild their burnt houses and restock their plundered farms, found themselves accused of acts of which they had been entirely innocent, and were imploring, but in vain, that impartial commissioners might be sent out to examine into their conduct and free them from the charge of having left their honour and their humanity behind when they crossed the sea to South Africa. The missionaries made a fainter outcry, but they too, when looking at their ruined stations, were deeply moved at the thought of being accused of having taken part with oppressors. The Dutch colonists, likening their condition to that of Israel in Egypt, thought of nothing but relief by flight from British rule.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the best loved and most widely esteemed governor the country had known since the days of General Janssens, endeavoured to convince the secretary of state of the great mistake that was being made, but by so doing only brought



upon himself the heaviest punishment that could be inflicted. Dismissed from his office in the harshest manner, he would not return to England, but retired to private life in the colony until his countrymen should reverse the judgment passed by Lord Glenelg upon him. That did not take place until 1846, when the injustice done to him and to the colonists was generally acknowledged, and he was then appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Canada. Sir George Napier, another military veteran, who held the most advanced so-called philanthropic opinions, was sent out to succeed him, and arrived in January, 1838. To the great wail of agony from South Africa Lord Glenelg had but one reply: that he took the responsibility for the policy upon himself, a responsibility so terrible as subsequently seen that it is charitable to suppose he was more thoughtless than cold-blooded.

The condition of the eastern province during the next ten years was such that only people of the highest degree of determination would have persevered in trying to carry on farming there. Such men and women were the British settlers of Albany, than whom the mother country never sent forth worthier children, though it was the fashion then in England to stigmatise them as oppressors of the blacks. They went back to their farms, and only the all-seeing God and themselves knew how hardly they lived and how sorely they struggled to get upon their feet again. The country swarmed with vagrants, Kaffirs and others, always on the watch to plunder them, and they were obliged to be ready night and day to defend themselves and the stock they were beginning to accumulate once more. Murders were frequent,—in one year there were no fewer than twenty-four,—but

under the Glenelg system there was practically no redress for either murder or theft. The chiefs were applied to, certainly, by the British agents, and there the matter commonly ended. The white man and his mode of government had become the laughing-stock of Kaffirland.

The Fingos between the Fish and Keiskama rivers were hardly better off. A small garrison was maintained at Fort Peddie for their protection, but the Xosas harassed them so that they were only safe under shelter of the guns. One day in the very presence of the British agent they were attacked, ten of them were killed, eleven others wounded, and fifty head of cattle were driven away. A corporal who was sent out of the fort with a few soldiers to aid them was killed. And for this all the satisfaction that could be obtained was the delivery of seventy-four head of the most worthless cattle in the country.

This was the condition of things, a condition of lawlessness caused by philanthropy gone mad, that drove thousands of the Dutch colonists to seek a new home somewhere, anywhere beyond the pale of British rule. It was once a belief in England that opposition to emancipation of the slaves was the cause of their removal, as the two events coincided closely in point of time, but in truth that was not so. A careful examination shows that the area from which ninety-eight per cent. of the voortrekkers, or first emigrants, went contained only sixteen per cent. of the whole number of slaves in the colony. That area covered the frontier districts, the scenes of Kaffir raids, the localities most frequented by vagrants of every kind. The Cape peninsula and the wheat and wine producing districts now forming the divisions of

Caledon, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Malmesbury, Piquetberg, Ceres, and Worcester did not contribute a dozen families altogether to the stream of emigration, and these formed the principal slaveholding part of the country. In one document only out of hundreds written by the voortrekkers at this time, and still in existence, is the emancipation referred to as a grievance, and even in this one—the manifesto of Pieter Retief—the cause of the grievance is emancipation without a fair equivalent. The slaveholders were really the least fitted of all the colonists for such an enterprise, as they had been so dependent upon the regular labour of their bondsmen that they could not rely on their own unaided exertions, as the cattle-breeders of the inland districts could, very few of whom had any but casual Hottentot or other free servants.

The desire to get away from British rule was general, but the ability to do so was limited to those who still possessed some means, for of course those who were destitute could not move. Waggons, oxen, breeding cattle, horses, guns, and ammunition were indispensable for the purpose. The clergy set their faces decidedly against the movement, as they feared the people when away in the wilds of the interior would retrograde from civilisation, and their influence restrained many who otherwise would have gone. Not a single clergyman joined the emigrants. The condition of the country beyond the northern colonial border was at this time very imperfectly known, though missionaries of several societies as well as English hunters and traders had penetrated it some hundreds of miles, for their accounts were not then published, and the intercourse between them and the Dutch colonists was extremely limited. A<sup>1</sup>

small party of farmers had, however, visited Natal, and had been smitten with the charms of that beautiful depopulated territory.

The colonists believed that when once beyond the British frontiers they would be politically entirely independent. Over and over again they had heard it asserted by men in authority that England was determined not to enlarge her possessions in South Africa and thereby increase her responsibilities, and they had seen her withdraw her flag from ground that had long been hers, as well as from the recently created Province of Queen Adelaide. They knew that her politicians held her real interests in the country to be confined to the Cape peninsula, and they were witnesses of the fact that she had permitted coloured people to withdraw from her rule and found caricatures of independent states, without a word of remonstrance. What held good in the case of the Griquas, they thought, would surely hold good for them, as they were not hereditary British subjects, and only twenty-two years had elapsed since—without their consent being asked or given—they had been transferred by the King of the Netherlands to the dominion of England. This was their view of the position, a view which they persistently maintained thereafter.

On the other hand the British authorities claimed that they could not throw off their allegiance by any act of their own, and that no matter where they went they could be brought back and made amenable to the colonial courts of law. This principle was recognised in an act of the imperial parliament passed at this time, commonly known as the Cape of Good Hope Punishment Act, which provided for the trial of British subjects committing offences anywhere

in Africa south of the twenty-fifth parallel of latitude.

In one respect the Dutch colonists were very unlike their kindred in Europe. In the Netherlands men were strongly attached to the locality of their birth and to their own little province, but in South Africa beyond the first range of mountains, owing to the old land tenure, the people had lost all feeling of this kind. Their affection was for the country as a whole, for its clear skies of deepest blue, for the exhilarating air on its highlands, for the vastness of its plains and hunting fields and pastures rolling in hill and vale like the waves of a boundless sea. It is a land to be loved, and these people, many of whom were from necessity half migratory in their habits, as their fathers for generations had been, were as deeply attached to it as it was possible to be. But whether they lived in one part or in another five hundred miles away was a matter of little concern to them: it was all *ons land, our own country*, where the rocky ridges are tinted by the setting sun with hues more beautiful than ever painter laid on cloth, where the moonlit evenings are so pleasant that one can fancy such must have been the clime of Paradise of old, and where the stars shine so bright through the clear dry air that the dome of heaven is all aglow with their myriad rays. It was thus not a matter of much regret in itself for these men and women to tear themselves away from the part of South Africa termed the Cape Colony, and make new homes in a part bearing another name.

Nor was the travelling in waggons over a roadless country for hundreds of miles so formidable an undertaking for them as it would be for persons born and reared in cities of Europe or America. To

Afrikaners the tented ox-waggon is by no means an uncomfortable conveyance in fine weather, when meals can be taken in the open air. Provided with a katel, which is almost equal to a spring bedstead, one sleeps in it with ease, while its various chests inside and out afford convenient receptacles for everything needed on a journey. A few folding chairs, a similar table, and a screen for the sun constitute the only furniture required in the veld.

Still, when all this is said, it was no light matter to leave the colony, where civilisation had provided so many appliances that tended to convenience and comfort, and plunge into the interior, where there were no churches or stores, no markets or mechanics' shops, even if that interior was in all other respects the same as the districts they were abandoning. The emigration of a great number of the peasantry of a state or province, think what it means: no other British colony in modern times has witnessed anything like it.

And now farms were sold for whatever they would bring, which in many instances was next to nothing, owing to the great number to be parted with, everything that could not be packed in the huge waggons was disposed of, the last look was taken of the graves where deceased relatives were lying, and the emigrants moved away northward. Each party was under the leadership of an elected commandant, and usually consisted of a group of families closely related to each other. They moved slowly, seldom farther than six or eight miles a day, as they had to be careful not to overdrive their flocks and herds. Often when they came to places where the pasture was particularly good they remained for weeks together, there being no necessity to hurry on in a journey

whose end was unknown. Sometimes they were delayed by swollen rivers or mountain ranges, but that troubled them little, for in the one case the water would sooner or later subside, and in the other a pass was always to be found over which twenty or thirty oxen could drag a waggon so strong and yet so elastic as that in use in South Africa.

The pioneer party was under the leadership of a farmer named Louis Trieckard. It consisted of only eight men, with seven women and thirty-four children, who had resided on the border of Albany. On the colonial frontier, however, it was joined by another party, under Jan van Rensburg, which comprised ten men, nine women, and thirty children. Trieckard kept a diary, which has fortunately been preserved, so that the particulars of his journey are known.

Together the two parties had thirty waggons and a considerable number of coloured servants. After crossing the frontier they continued their course northward, travelling just as suited their inclination or convenience, until they reached the place now known as Potgieter's Rust, in the Zoutpansberg, where they arrived in May, 1836. In passing through the vast almost uninhabited waste beyond the Orange River, they had escaped the observation of Moselekatse's warriors, and had seen so little human life that they considered themselves quite secure. The men hunted game constantly on horseback, and had seen vast areas of land suited for settlement, but as they wished to open communication with the outer world through Delagoa Bay, they had gone on until they believed themselves to be in the latitude of that port.

At the Zoutpansberg they halted while the young

men explored the country around, which they considered admirably adapted for stock-breeding and agriculture. They were in ignorance that Moselekatse's kraals were only two hundred and fifty miles to the south-west, and of the ferocity of the Matabele they likewise knew nothing, or they would not have been so satisfied with the locality. They were almost at the mouth of a lion's den, and yet were in such utter carelessness that after a short time the two bands separated, in order that each might have a district of its own.

Rensburg's party moved eastward, and from that time nothing certain is known of the events that happened to it. It was said by some blacks in after years that it fell in with a band of Magwamba robbers, who murdered men, women, and children alike, but just when and where this occurred could never be ascertained. In August, 1867, a white man and woman, who spoke no language but that of the Eastern Bantu, and whose habits were those of barbarians, were sent to Commandant Coetzer, of Lydenburg, by a Swazi chief who had obtained them from the Magwamba. They could tell nothing of their history beyond their residence among the Bantu, and did not even know their European names or those of their parents; but as they had never seen other whites that they could remember, it was concluded that they were the sole survivors of Rensburg's party, and that they must have been very young when their relatives were murdered. They had been treated by the blacks as superior beings, and had never done any work, as food was always provided for them. For some time they had lived as man and wife, and had two children when they were rescued.

After resting a few months at the Zoutpansberg



Triehard's party resolved to explore the country between them and Delagoa Bay, and then return and settle permanently in the goodly locality they had found. They had no idea of the distance they would have to travel or of the obstacles in their way, and they considered it necessary to acquire that information. They were in reality about two hundred and ten miles in a straight line from Lourenço Marques, which lay almost due south-east, for without knowing it they had gone fully a hundred and twenty miles farther north than its latitude. So far they had enjoyed excellent health, as after passing the Stormberg they had been on the high plateau, and travelling from south to north they had not met with any serious obstacles. They were now to have a very different experience.

They reached the edge of the plateau safely, and commenced to descend to the terraces along the coast, but here they were attacked by fever, which carried off several of their number and for a time prostrated all the others. The country was more densely wooded than that they had left behind, and the grass was so thick and high that travelling was extremely difficult, besides which the edges of the terraces were so precipitous that it was with the greatest difficulty they could get down. Fortunately great herds of buffaloes and other large game were always to be seen, so that they were in no want of animal food.

On entering the forest country they observed an insect a little larger than a common fly settling on their cattle, but they paid hardly any attention to it at first, for they had never heard of the tsetse, whose sting is death to the horse or ox. Seeing the zebras and buffaloes, animals so like their own, in vast numbers roaming about unharmed, they could not sus-

pect the destructive power of the fly. But soon the domestic cattle began to pine away and at length to die, when the unfortunate people found themselves in a deplorable condition. Their only hope now was in reaching Delagoa Bay, and by dint of almost superhuman exertions, in April, 1838, those who still remained alive arrived at Lourenço Marques, where the Portuguese had recently rebuilt a fort.

By these people they were received with the utmost kindness, and there they remained about a year, all that time treated with the most unbounded hospitality. Then information of what had befallen them reached the emigrants who meanwhile had founded the Republic of Natal, and a little vessel was sent to bring them away. In her three men, three women, and nineteen children proceeded to Durban, where they were joined in the following year by young Trieckard, who had gone from Lourenço Marques to Mozambique in a Portuguese vessel before the *Mazeppa* reached the bay, and on his return set out overland and walked to Natal.

Thus of the ninety-eight pioneer voortrekkers, all had perished except these twenty-six, who were without property of any kind, and the two wretched captives with the Magwamba.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## THE DEFEAT AND FLIGHT OF MOSELEKATSE.

THE next party that left the Cape Colony was under the leadership of Commandant Andries Hendrik Potgieter, and consisted of a number of families from the Tarka and the neighbourhood of the village of Colesberg. With it went with his parents one Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, a boy ten years of age, whose name was destined in after years to be written large in the history of South Africa. There were no fewer than eight families of the name of Liebenberg in this party, and there was one Carel Cilliers, a famous man among the emigrants, being of the calibre of the best and bravest of our English Puritans.

Commandant Potgieter directed his course past Thaba Ntshu on the border of the Caledon to the Vet River, where, near the site of the present village of Winburg, he found a man named Makwana, whose ancestors had been chiefs of the great Bataung tribe that had once occupied the territory from that point northward to the Vaal. Very poor and very wretched, however, was this son of the lion rulers when the white men made his acquaintance, hiding as he was with a few miserable followers from the notice of the dreaded Matabele. To talk to such a man about selling land might seem absurd, but after hearing his story Potgieter made him an offer. If he would transfer his claim to the greater part of

the district, he could keep an ample reserve for himself and his people, and the emigrants would protect him from the Matabele and furnish him with a small herd of cattle. The newcomers had a very vague idea of the responsibility they were thus taking upon themselves when this proposal, apparently now so advantageous to both sides, was made. Probably, too, Makwana, when he looked upon the little emigrant camp, did not consider the clause about protection as being of much value; but the land was useless and the cattle meant something direct and substantial, so he and his people eagerly accepted the terms.

When the bargain was concluded the farmers scattered about in the district they had acquired, and some of them crossed the Vaal and explored its northern bank down to a tributary which they named the Mooi, that is, the Beautiful. They were without the slightest apprehension of danger from Moselekatse, of whose power they as yet knew little or nothing beyond what the Bataung could tell. Commandant Potgieter with eleven men then set out to explore the country onward to Delagoa Bay, leaving the remainder of the party in fancied security. Until they reached Rhenoster Poort, eighteen days' journey from the Vaal, they saw no human beings, so completely had that part of the country been depopulated; but farther on they occasionally met a few half-famished natives occupying strong places in the hills where they could either defend or conceal themselves upon the approach of a Matabele band.

They were astonished at the quantity of iron implements possessed by these natives, and concluded rightly that the ore must be in great abundance in

those parts. They looked too with something like awe upon the gigantic baobabs, for they had never seen such trees in the south, and they gazed upon the rich grass lands with the highest admiration. But they could find no opening through the rugged country to the eastward by which to descend to Delagoa Bay, so at the Zoutpansberg they turned back.

On the return journey they took another route, and to their great satisfaction reached a Magwamba kraal where they observed various kinds of European and Indian goods, and found black traders from Lourenço Marques bartering ivory. Here also were two halfbreeds, sons of a renegade Dutch colonist who many years before had fled from justice, and had afterwards lived as a wanderer along the banks of the Limpopo. These men—Doris and Carel Buys by name—could speak Dutch as well as the native language, and through their interpretation Potgieter and his companions learned a great deal about the path to the coast. They had now been so long away from their friends that they thought it better to be satisfied with this information than to visit Lourenço Marques by the road the black traders pointed out, so they continued their journey to the south and reached the Vaal again after an absence of three months and a half.

They were met with the startling intelligence that a massacre of several of their relatives and friends had just taken place. A small band of Matabele warriors had been out scouring the country, and had come across a little party hunting elephants, of whom they murdered four white men and all the coloured servants, but other four white men, who were on horseback when they were surprised, managed to escape. These rode as fast as they could to

give warning to their friends, and fortunately some had time to collect together and draw up their waggons in a circle to form a lager. The Matabele followed and attacked the lager, which was defended by thirty-five men so successfully that the assailants were beaten back with heavy loss. In other places, however, they found some of the emigrants without any protection, and murdered eight white men, two women, and four children, besides a larger number of coloured servants, and they returned to their chief with three white children, a great herd of cattle, and several waggons laden with articles of different kinds. In this manner the farmers and the Matabele commenced their dealings with each other.

Potgieter at once collected the whole of the survivors of his party at a defensible position between the Rhenoster and Wilge rivers, where he constructed a strong lager by lashing fifty waggons together in a circle and filling all the open spaces with stout branches of thorn trees. In this enclosure the women and children slept at night, while some of the men kept guard; the horses were fastened to the waggons, and the horned cattle, goats, and sheep were brought close by. When these arrangements were completed, they awaited with some degree of confidence the attack that they had every reason to believe would soon be made upon them.

They did not have much time to think about the matter. One morning, only a few days after everything had been made ready, a few terrified Bataung rushed into the camp, and announced that a great Matabele army was approaching. Carel Cilliers, who regularly conducted religious services for the party, then offered a short and earnest prayer to God for support, and at its conclusion every man sprang

into his saddle and rode towards the enemy. They were forty in all, and the commandant Potgieter was at their head. The Matabele army that they went to encounter consisted of fully five thousand of Moselekatse's best warriors, men who had never known defeat, and was commanded by a famous general named Kalipi. Forty against five thousand, the odds seem terrible!

But these forty farmers were well mounted, and in all the world there were no better horsemen or deadlier shots than they. Accustomed from boyhood to the chase, it was certain that not a charge of powder which they used would be thrown away. The guns that they carried were large and heavy, were loaded with loose powder from a horn slung over the shoulder, upon which slugs were rammed down, and were fired by means of flint locks. Clumsy they would be called to-day, but they were enormously superior as weapons to the assagais of the Matabele.

Riding to within good shooting distance of Kalipi's army, the farmers spread themselves out in a long line, so that no two men would aim at the same object, and poured in a volley. Then instantly turning, they galloped back, and though pursued with fury, they could not be overtaken. As soon as the guns were reloaded, another volley was fired, and the unsuccessful chase was repeated. Potgieter hoped in this manner to turn the Matabele back before they came to the lager, but in this he was disappointed, for Kalipi made no account of the men he was losing.

So at last the camp was reached, and the commandant and his men rode through the narrow opening into it, which was immediately closed up, and preparations for defence were made inside. The Matabele encircled it, and sat down at a distance to

rest a little and feast their eyes on their intended victims. Then with a loud hiss they rushed upon the lager, and tried to force the waggons apart, but with no effect. There were fortunately plenty of spare guns, and the women knew how to load them, so that the men and even boys like little Paul Kruger could keep up an almost continual discharge of slugs, until at the end of about half an hour the Matabele retired discomfited. Before doing so, however, many of them hurled assagais into the lager, of which over eleven hundred were afterwards picked up. With these two of the defenders were killed, and twelve others were wounded more or less severely.

The Matabele when they retired seized the whole of the farmers' cattle, and with the booty commenced to retreat. Potgieter and his men followed them on horseback till sunset, and managed to shoot a good many, but could not recover an ox or a sheep. Matters therefore looked very gloomy that night in the emigrants' camp. Next morning the corpses of a hundred and fifty-five Matabele that were lying close to the lager were cleared away, and then a brother of the commandant set off for Thaba Ntshu to ascertain whether another party from the colony had not perhaps arrived in that neighbourhood.

The country just around Thaba Ntshu was then occupied by the remnant of a Barolong clan, under the chief Moroko, which had been found by some Wesleyan missionaries wandering about near its ancestral home far away to the north-west, and had been led by them to this locality as a place of comparative safety. The Reverend Mr. Archbell was living with Moroko, and under his able and judicious guidance the Barolong were beginning to enjoy some of the comforts of a settled life, though constantly



in danger of being raided by the Matabele. When Hermanus Potgieter reached the Wesleyan station he learned that a large party of farmers from Graaff-Reinet, under the leadership of Commandant Gerrit Maritz, was close by on its way northward. Mr. Archbell treated him with the utmost kindness as a fellow-Christian in distress, and at once offered all his own oxen to assist in bringing the women and children away from Vechtkop—the Hill of Battle,—as the place where the lager was standing was now called. Further he induced the Barolong to give the few oxen they had for the same purpose, and as Maritz was able to supply a considerable number, the whole camp was immediately moved to Thaba Ntshu.

The commandants Potgieter and Maritz then resolved upon an expedition against Moselekatse, in order to punish him for what had occurred and to recover the property his people had seized. Together they managed to muster a hundred and seven men, and they procured the assistance of forty mounted Griquas and about sixty Barolong, who would be useful to look after the horses and herd the cattle they hoped to recover. A Morolong named Matlabe deserves to be specially mentioned. His father had been a chief, but he had been made a captive when a youth, and had been a burden bearer and afterwards a soldier in the Matabele army. Hearing that the remnant of his tribe had settled at Thaba Ntshu, he made his escape and fled thither, and now he went as a guide to Potgieter and Maritz on their march against his old master.

The object of the commando was to take the Matabele by surprise, and so thoroughly had the country been cleared of its inhabitants that after

passing the Vaal not a single individual was met who could convey tidings of its approach to Moselekatse. Just as day was breaking on the 17th of January, 1837, it arrived at Mosega, the most southern military kraal of the formidable tribe, which was situated in an extensive and beautiful valley. In dealing with barbarians such as those they were at war with, the farmers had no scruples about adopting a barbarous mode of attack, and hence the first notice of their presence that the Matabele received was in the form of a discharge of firearms. It was a fortunate circumstance for the white men that not only Moselekatse himself but the induna or general in command at Mosega happened at the time to be at a kraal on the Marikwa, some distance to the north, and there was no one present of sufficient rank to give directions that all the warriors would obey.

It was therefore as a confused body that the Matabele rushed in a mass towards their foes, with their assagais in hand and their great shields held in front, which were a hindrance to their movements without being a protection from the farmers' slugs. Another well directed volley scattered them, and then until the sun was high and the horses were weary they were hunted like so many wild animals. About four hundred were shot down, without a single white man being killed or wounded. Most of the emigrants' waggons that had been seized were found at Mosega and recovered, and six or seven thousand head of cattle were secured. The military kraal was given to the flames, and the commando then set out on its return.

About seven months earlier three American missionaries, Dr. Wilson and the Reverend Messrs.

Lindley and Venable, with their families, at the risk of their lives and with the certainty of being cut off from every convenience, had taken up their residence at Mosega with Moselekatse's permission. It would be difficult to find in the whole history of the spread of Christianity from the time of the apostles an instance of greater devotion to the holy cause than this, tenderly nurtured men and women leaving behind all that the world holds dear, and in the service of their Redeemer seeking to benefit fellow-creatures so sunk in darkness and vice as these savage Matabele. Their words and their example had made no impression, some members of their families had sunk under the terrible discomfort to which they were exposed, but still they persevered. Now, however, when it was certain that if they remained where they were, they, as Europeans, would fall a sacrifice to the vengeance of the routed warriors, they retired with the commando.

Upon his return to Thaba Ntshu Potgieter collected his party together and, having been joined by a number of families just arrived from the colony, he moved to the Vet River in the territory purchased from Makwana and formed a camp at a place to which he gave the name Winburg, after the recent victory. Here some of the emigrants built cottages, and thus laid the foundation of the first permanent town north of the Orange River.

While this was taking place various parties were arriving on the border of the Caledon, among them one under a very able man named Pieter Retief. The commandants in general, being plain farmers with hardly any education and on a perfect social equality, were exceedingly jealous of each other, and would not have consented to any one of their num-

ber assuming supreme control. But Retief had received a fairly good training at school, had conducted a large business, and was admitted by all to have exceptional qualifications for a leader. It was time that some steps should be taken to form a government, so on the 6th of June, 1837, a mass meeting was held at Winburg to discuss the matter.

There a kind of provisional constitution, consisting of nine articles, was adopted. It was agreed that legislative power should be vested in an elective assembly to be termed a volksraad, and executive power in an elected officer to be termed the governor and commandant-general. There was to be a landdrost with six heemraden to administer justice according to the old Dutch laws of the colony until the volksraad should make new ones. One of the articles provided that every member of the community and all who should thereafter join it must take a solemn oath to have no connection with the London Missionary Society. That body, as has been before stated, was regarded by the emigrants not as a religious but as a political association, disseminating doctrines on social questions subversive of all order in society. That they had no antipathy to the congregational or independent religious creed, which indeed hardly differed from their own, is shown by the fact that the Reverend Mr. Lindley, who had retired from Mosega, adhered to it, and yet shortly afterwards became their first pastor, and was regarded by them through life with the utmost affection and esteem.

At this meeting Pieter Retief was elected governor and commandant-general, and six members were chosen to form a volksraad. This body, however, never met for the despatch of business, owing

to the greater number of the emigrants moving to Natal shortly afterwards. Commandant Potgieter also after a few months resolved to establish a government independent of the others, and thenceforward acted in entire independence of Mr. Retief.

Among the parties that arrived at this time was one from the district of Uitenhage under Commandant Jacobus Uys, a man who was held in particular esteem by the British settlers of Albany. This party allied itself for a time with the one under Potgieter, and in consequence of this acquisition of strength another expedition against Moselekatse was resolved upon. As Commandant Uys was too old to take an active part in military operations, it was arranged that his son, Pieter Lavras Uys, should lead one division of the attacking force, and Commandant Potgieter the other. Together the commandos consisted of a hundred and thirty-five mounted men, having with them spare horses, which they led, carrying provisions and ammunition, with a few Barolong servants to act as herds. Mr. Carel Cilliers, who had a habit of always taking a place in the van when any hard blows were being struck at the heathen, accompanied the expedition, and acted as chaplain, journalist, and most redoubtable warrior. Paul Kruger, now twelve years of age, was counted equal in fighting ability to a man, and went too.

Fifty miles north of Mosega, close to the present town of Zeerust in the fertile valley of the Marikwa, the whole Matabele army under Moselekatse in person was found. The grass was in good condition, and the farmers had taken care in the long march not to weary their horses, which were as fresh now as when they left Winburg. The tactics adopted were the same as those at Vechtkop or as those in

hunting elephants, to ride up swiftly and deliver a volley, and then as swiftly ride away again. The Matabele never had a chance of using their spears. Yet warfare like this, if warfare it can be called, was not without danger to the Europeans, for the failure or loss of a horse would have meant the loss of its owner's life.

For nine days this hunting of the enemy went on, of course only for an hour or two at a time, as it was necessary to go far to rest at night and to keep scouts in all directions while the horses were loose at grass. Then one morning the kraals were found abandoned, and following the trail the farmers had the joy of seeing the entire Matabele host in full flight to the north. By this time the supplies were becoming short, so Potgieter and Uys contented themselves with cutting off a large herd of cattle, with which they returned to Winburg.

Moselekatse, not wishing to risk another such encounter, continued his flight till he reached the territory north of the Limpopo, ever since known as Matabeleland, where he settled and treated the earlier inhabitants as he had treated those in the south. His army was still far too well disciplined and too strong to be resisted by any native force in South Africa except that of Dingan, though his losses had been very heavy in the nine days' campaign in the Marikwa valley. Carel Cilliers believed and wrote that God had given him into the emigrants' hands so that they had been able to shoot down three thousand of his soldiers, but probably that estimate was much too large.

This event took place in November, 1837. Upon Moselekatse's flight Commandant Potgieter proclaimed the whole territory that he had devastated

and ruled over forfeited to the emigrants as lawful prize of war. It covered the entire surface of the South African Republic, Southern Bechuanaland to the Kalahari, and a great part of what became the Orange Free State. Throughout this vast region the wretched fugitives in the mountains and desert places could again breathe freely and build huts and make gardens in safety, for the terrible exterminator had at last been vanquished and expelled. What light is to darkness, what joy is to sorrow and despair, that was the victory of Potgieter and Uys to them.

## CHAPTER XX.

## DINGAN AND THE EMIGRANT FARMERS.

IN October, 1837, Pieter Retief with a few companions left the encampment on the Caledon for the purpose of inspecting the territory between the Drakensberg and the sea, and if it should suit them to try to obtain Dingan's consent to its occupation by the emigrants. This territory bore the name Natal, but its limits were not the same as those of the colony now so called. To the Portuguese Natal meant the country along the coast from about the mouth of the Bashee to the headland known in our times as the Bluff. People wrecked farther south had on several occasions passed by the inlet on which the town of Durban stands, on their journey to Delagoa Bay, but there is no instance on record of a Portuguese ship having ever entered that sheet of water. To the Dutch Natal meant the country between the Umzimvubu and the Tugela, taking each river from its source to the sea, and as its harbour had frequently been visited by vessels of their nation, the emigrants were aware of its existence and were desirous of securing it as a gateway to the outer world.

Thirteen years earlier a few enterprising Englishmen had formed a settlement there, in the conviction that the port offered great advantages for commerce, but they were unable to obtain recognition from either the imperial or the Cape government.



Tshaka, however, favoured them and allowed them to remain for the sake of trade. He even permitted them to collect together the natives who had been in hiding, and appointed some of them chiefs over these people. They lived a very wild life, hunting and trading, for now and again a vessel would call and supply them with goods in exchange for ivory. When Tshaka was murdered they fled, but Dingan invited them to return, and most of them went back again. In 1835 they mustered about thirty, all told, and in that year they gave the name Durban to the place where they resided when at home from hunting.

In 1835 the first missionaries arrived in the country. The pioneer was Captain Allen Gardiner, previously of the royal navy, he who some years later perished of starvation in Patagonia when trying to perform similar work there. He was followed by Dr. Adams and the Reverend Messrs. Champion and Grout, of the American Society, and in 1837 by the three who had retired from Mosega and by the Reverend Mr. Owen, of the Established Church of England. When Pieter Retief entered Natal Mr. Owen was residing with Dingan at his kraal Umkungunhlovu, there were two other stations north of the Tugela, and three south of that river, but all exceedingly small and in a very precarious condition of existence.

Between the Drakensberg and Durban not a single individual was met, nor was a sign of human life to be seen. The visitors were charmed with the country, as well they might have been, for it is indeed a fair and fertile land. At the port they were very well received by the English residents, who were pleased to hear of their desire to settle in the country. A messenger was then sent in advance

to Dingan to announce their intended visit, and with two of the Englishmen as guides and interpreters Retief and his companions followed.

The Zulu chief received them with every outward show of friendship. When Retief informed him of the object of the journey he said he must take a few days to consider the matter, and while doing so he entertained his guests with reviews of his soldiers, grand dances, and performances by trained oxen. On the 8th of November Dingan gave his decision. The emigrants could occupy the land south of the Tugela, he said, but before doing so they must prove their friendship by recovering for him some cattle which Sikonyela, son of Ma Ntatisi, had stolen from one of his kraals. He requested the Reverend Mr. Owen to commit these terms to writing, and when that was done, he handed the document to Mr. Retief.

The emigrants did not hesitate to do what was required of them. Sikonyela, by driving the stolen cattle through one of their camps on the Caledon, had, according to native law, implicated them in the theft, and he had also driven off some of their horses, so that they had reason to regard him as an enemy. Accordingly Mr. Retief compelled him to restore the plunder, and when that was recovered, the whole of the emigrants, except the parties under Potgieter and Uys, went down the steep slopes of the Drakensberg and spread themselves out along the Bluekrans and Bushman's rivers in the present county of Weenen, on the border of the highest plateau of Natal.

Retief now prepared to proceed to Umkungunhlovu with Dingan's cattle. There were many who thought a life so valuable to the community as

his should not be risked in such an undertaking, and numerous volunteers came forward to undertake the duty, but he was desirous of proving to the chief that he had confidence in the promise made and was acting honestly and openly. He therefore set out on the journey with sixty-four emigrants—some of them mere boys,—an Englishman from Durban as interpreter, and about thirty Hottentot servants.

On the 3rd of February, 1838, the party arrived at Dingan's residence, and was received as before with every outward show of friendship. The chief expressed himself as gratified with the restoration of his cattle, but regretted that they had not brought Sikonyela with them to be put to death for having dared to plunder a Zulu outpost. He requested Mr. Owen to draw up a document to show that he gave to the emigrants all the land from the Tugela to the Umzimvubu, and when it was read over to him he asserted that it was correct, affixed his mark to it, and handed it to Mr. Retief. The trouble that he took to entertain his guests threw them completely off their guard, so that after three days when they were ready to leave they went without their arms into a circle of warriors to bid him farewell. Then Dingan showed himself in his true light. He gave an order, which was instantly obeyed: the defenceless men and boys were seized and dragged to a hill close by, where their brains were beaten out with knobkerries. Not a single European or a Hottentot escaped.

At noon on the same day some ten thousand Zulu warriors left Umkungunhlovu for Natal, with orders to wipe the whole of the people there out of existence. At early dawn on the morning of the 17th of February they fell upon the encampments near the present village of Weenen, that is Weeping, and in the

most barbarous manner murdered every living being in them except two or three young men who managed to spring on unsaddled horses and escape. The infants were killed by dashing their heads against the waggon wheels, the women by being ripped open with stabbing assagais.

The young men who escaped galloped as fast as the horses could carry them to their friends farther on, who had scarcely time to form lagers with their waggons when the Zulus were upon them. In the defence of the lagers the utmost intrepidity was shown by both men and women, and great numbers of the barbarians perished without being able to force an entrance into one of them. Having lost several of their best leaders, and finding the lagers impregnable, the Zulus then acted as the Matabele at Vechtkop had done: they collected all the cattle they could come across and returned to Umkungunhlovu. As soon as they retired the emigrants hastened to the place where the first attack was made to ascertain their loss. There they found the mangled bodies of forty-one white men, fifty-six white women, one hundred and eighty-five white children, and two hundred and fifty coloured servants. The waggons and everything else had been utterly destroyed. Is it a wonder that such a scene of horror should have made these people regard the Bantu afterwards with feelings somewhat different from those entertained by philanthropists in England whose children were safe in their cots and cradles?

A discussion then took place as to what was best to be done. One or two men proposed to leave Natal, but the women put them to shame by declaring that not a female would go until those who had shed so much Christian blood were punished. They deter-

mined therefore to remain where they were, and put their trust in God, to whom they cried from the depths of their hearts to aid them in their sore distress. A strong lager was made, and information of what had occurred was sent to the parties beyond the mountains.

The commandants Potgieter and Uys at once assembled all their men, and hastened down to Natal. The Englishmen at Durban also, having lost one of their number in the massacre at Umkungunhlovu and another in the more recent slaughter, offered all the military aid at their command. But now a difficulty arose through want of a head whom all would recognise. Gerrit Maritz claimed to be the chief commandant in Natal, but neither Potgieter nor Uys would consent to serve under him. At last it was arranged that Maritz should remain in charge of the lager, that Potgieter and Uys should lead separate divisions, but marching together, to attack Dingan on one side, while the Englishmen with their Bantu followers should attack him on the other.

This plan was carried out. Three hundred and forty-seven men marched with the commandants Hendrik Potgieter and Pieter Uys towards the Zulu capital, and for five days met with no opposition. On the sixth morning, the 11th of April, 1838, they came in sight of a regiment, which apparently retreated before them, and following it as rapidly as they could, they entered a pass between ranges of hills and were drawn into a skilfully planned ambushade. On a sudden they found themselves surrounded by an immense Zulu army, so that it was impossible to practise their usual tactics. They therefore made a gallant charge through the weakest part of the ring, and managed by rapid firing to clear

a passage out, but with the loss of ten men, their led horses, baggage, stores, and all their spare ammunition.

Among those who fell in this engagement was the commandant Pieter Lavras Uys. His son, Dirk Cornelis Uys, a boy only fifteen years of age, was a little in advance when, looking back, he saw a Zulu in the act of stabbing his father. The brave youth instantly turned his horse and charged the savage warrior, but met his own death at his parent's side. A gallant boy surely was Dirk Cornelis Uys, whose name deserves to be mentioned whenever the story of the occupation of Natal is told.

The other army that marched against Dingan consisted of about twenty Englishmen who acted as officers or chiefs, the same number of Hottentots, and from ten to fifteen hundred blacks. The latter were nearly all Zulu refugees, and could therefore be thoroughly depended upon. They succeeded in surprising a small Zulu outpost, where they captured a few thousand head of cattle and a number of women and girls. This success ruined them. They began to quarrel over the spoil, and much time was lost, as they returned to Natal with the plunder and rearranged the force. When they set out again they mustered seventeen Englishmen, twenty Hottentots, and fifteen hundred blacks. On the 17th of April they reached the Tugela, and on its northern bank found themselves within the horns of a Zulu army fully seven thousand strong. A desperate battle was fought, in which thirteen of the Englishmen and a thousand of their followers were killed, the remainder escaping with the greatest difficulty.

The victorious Zulus then marched to Durban, and destroyed everything they found there. Some of the

missionaries had previously left in a trading vessel bound to Port Elizabeth that happened to call, and fortunately another trading vessel bound to Delagoa Bay was then in the harbour. In her the remaining Englishmen and missionaries with their families took refuge, and the surviving blacks concealed themselves in the thickets as best they could. When the Zulus retired eight or nine undaunted Englishmen returned to land to resume their former occupations as chiefs, hunters, and traders, but all the others left in the *Comet*.

Commandant Potgieter, after his defeat, also left Natal and returned to Winburg. In November of this year, as he had been joined by many fresh emigrants from the colony, he with a considerable number of farmers, including Paul Kruger's family, crossed the Vaal, and settled on the banks of the Mooi River, where they laid out a town which they called Potchefstroom. Here they established an independent government, with a volksraad which claimed jurisdiction over all the territory that had been overrun by Moselekatse, including the district south of the Vaal purchased from Makwana.

Other emigrants, not daunted by the misfortunes of their countrymen, moved into Natal, so that in May there were six hundred and forty Europeans in that territory capable of bearing arms, with three thousand two hundred women and children. In August Dingan's army attacked them again, but they were well prepared for defence, and inflicted heavy loss upon their assailants at the cost of only one man killed on their side. They were suffering severely at this time, however, from want of many articles of food to which they had been accustomed, from an insufficiency of clothing, and a lack of medicines.

In November Mr. Andries Pretorius, a man of greater ability than any other who had yet left the colony, except Pieter Retief, arrived in Natal, and was at once elected commandant-general by the various parties there. He was then thirty-nine years of age, was possessed of considerable wealth, and bore a very high character, though his education from books had been exceedingly meagre. Like his compatriots, every evening he read a chapter of the Bible, and contented himself with a knowledge of that volume alone.

Mr. Pretorius recognised that the first thing to be done was to destroy the power of Dingan, because until that was effected the emigrants were obliged to remain in lager and were unable to conduct farming operations of any kind. He therefore assembled a commando, which, as finally arranged, consisted of four hundred and sixty-four mounted men. Among them were Carel Cilliers, who every morning and evening during the march conducted religious services, and an Englishman named Alexander Biggar, a leading man among the British settlers of 1820, one of whose sons had lost his life in the massacre at Weenen and another in the battle on the Tugela. Paul Kruger, at the age when boys in England play cricket and study grammar, was among them too, completing his education as a warrior. This was the school in which he was trained, and the man who more than any other influenced his after life was the stern, religious, undaunted Carel Cilliers.

The commando was provided with a sufficient number of waggons to form a lager, which were carefully drawn up every night and lashed together, so that the men could sleep within a movable fort, while scouts



were continually riding in all directions to prevent surprise. The army made a vow that if God would give them victory over the cruel heathen they would build a church and set apart a festival every year to commemorate it, and they kept their vow, as the church at Maritzburg and the annual celebration of Dingan's day testify to the present time.

They reached the Blood River safely and formed their lager in a very strong position on one of its banks, and there, at early dawn on Sunday the 16th of December, 1838, were attacked by a Zulu army ten or twelve thousand strong. The enemy strove to force an entrance by sheer weight, the foremost regiments being pressed on by those behind, but this movement enabled the defenders to execute terrible havoc with their firearms and some small field-guns they had with them. Yet for two full hours the Zulus persevered in their attempt, until Pretorius seized an opportunity to make his way out with a number of horsemen, who rode round to their rear and placed them between two fires. Then the discomfited warriors broke and fled, leaving a fourth of their number dead and dying, while only three white men, one of whom was the commandant-general, were slightly wounded. From the blood running into the river it received the name which it bears to this day.

The emigrants then marched to Umkungunhlovu, which they reached on the 21st, to find that Dingan had burnt the huts and retired to the fastnesses of the Umvolosi River. On the hill of slaughter close by were the skeletons of their countrymen who had been murdered, with the remains of their clothing upon them, and in a leather bag slung over the shoulder of one, which was known to be that of

Pieter Retief, was Dingan's gift of Natal that had been drawn up by the Reverend Mr. Owen. The remains were interred, and then the track of the Zulu army was followed. It led into a valley so broken that horsemen were at a great disadvantage, and there the Zulus made another attack, which obliged the emigrants to retire with a loss of five men killed, among whom was Alexander Biggar. A mountain in Natal bears the unfortunate Englishman's name, but neither he nor his sons found a grave in the land in which they died.

As it was impossible to pursue the enemy farther, the commando now returned to Natal. On the way a herd of four or five thousand head of cattle was secured, which helped to a small extent to relieve the distress of those who had lost their whole possessions.

For some time after this no military operations took place, and there was even a protracted negotiation between Mr. Pretorius and the Zulu chief with a view of arranging terms of peace. Dingan had lost about ten thousand warriors in all since the massacre at Weenen, so it was supposed that he would respect the emigrants' power, especially as he actually did restore a few of the cattle that his people had swept off. But in point of fact his spirit was far from broken, and at length the emigrants ascertained that the real object of his messengers was to spy out whether they kept in lager or not and that he had no intention of making good their losses, which was the condition of peace that they demanded.

Matters were in this condition when in September, 1839, there was an insurrection in Zululand. Panda, a half-brother of Dingan, rose in rebellion, and with a large following crossed the Tugela and entreated

assistance from the white people, offering in return to become their subject. It was supposed for a time that this might be a stratagem to draw them to destruction, but at length the emigrants were convinced that Panda was in earnest, and his proposal was agreed to. A strong commando was assembled, and in company with Panda's adherents marched against Dingan.

On the way a messenger from the Zulu chief met Mr. Pretorius, and stated that he came as an envoy to endeavour to arrange terms of peace. Contrary to all law and justice this man was brought to trial before a court-martial, and on Panda's charge that he was the instigator of the massacre at Umkungunhlovu, he and his servant were condemned to death and were shot. There was nothing whatever to justify such a barbarous act.

Dingan staked the issue of the quarrel between himself and Panda upon a single battle, which was fought on the 30th of January, 1840. The emigrant commando, which was marching at several miles' distance from the native allies, took no part in the engagement, though its proximity really turned the scale. The whole Zulu force was engaged on one side or the other. The desertion of two of Dingan's best regiments to Panda at the beginning of the battle made the strength of the combating armies about equal, and they fought hand to hand with the utmost fury. The slaughter was enormous. It ended in the total defeat and nearly total destruction of Dingan's adherents, only a small number escaping by flight. The chief himself reached the border of Swaziland, where he was shortly afterwards murdered by a man who stole upon him unawares.

On the 10th of February Mr. Pretorius formally

installed Panda as chief of the Zulus, but in vassalage to the emigrant government. It was agreed that he and his followers should reside between the Tugela and Black Umvolosi rivers, and this territory was proclaimed a fief of Natal. Of Dingan's cattle the farmers took forty thousand head, and Panda the remainder. And so the great Zulu power, which had been such a scourge to South Africa, was overthrown by a few hundred plain farmers, and progress was possible in the beautiful land of Natal.

## CHAPTER XXI.

## THE REPUBLIC OF NATAL.

IN the preceding chapters the emigrant farmers have been seen acting with a bravery and a tenacity of purpose never surpassed by any people: a different picture must now be shown. The men who performed for South Africa the great service of humbling the Matabele and Zulu tribes, of opening the vast territory between the Limpopo and the Umzimvubu to civilisation, were practically without a government, kept together solely by common peril, and in that condition no society can long exist. Great Britain claimed them still as her subjects, but announced again and again an unalterable resolution not to extend her dominions in South Africa by a single square mile, and therefore could exercise no control over them. Sir George Napier attempted to compel them to return to the Cape Colony, and with that object in November, 1838, sent a company of the 72nd regiment and a few artillerymen from Capetown by sea to close the port of Natal. These troops landed while the commando under Pretorius was marching against Dingan, and fortified themselves at Durban. The occupation was announced as only temporary. The officer in command seized some ammunition that was stored there, and summarily put a stop to all intercourse with the outer world by sea. But this measure had not the effect

of turning back a single family, and in December of the following year the troops were withdrawn.

The emigrants were left to themselves in Natal as well as in the country north of the Orange, with only the declaration by the imperial and colonial authorities that they were still British subjects and could not throw off their allegiance by any act of their own. On their part they claimed that away from British soil they were absolutely independent, and set about forming what they called a government. In March, 1839, a site for a town was selected, and erven—or building allotments—were laid out. It was named Pietermaritzburg, after Pieter Retief and Gerrit Maritz, and was intended to be the capital of the republic. The situation was particularly fine, and the founders carried out their ideal of a perfect place of abode for all who were not on farms, by drawing the streets in parallel lines, with erven each one hundred and fifty by four hundred and fifty feet in size, thus large enough for a garden and an orchard, and a commonage beyond a hundred and twenty square miles in extent.

In 1840 Weenen was laid out on precisely the same plan. The three towns, Pietermaritzburg—usually shortened into Maritzburg,—Weenen, and Durban were made the centres of three magisterial and ecclesiastical districts of the same names, into which the territory between the Tugela and Umzimvubu rivers was divided. Every burgher of full age who settled in Natal before 1840 received free two farms of six thousand acres each and one erf in whichever of the towns he preferred, and every one who arrived after that date received one farm without payment. To save repetition it may be mentioned here that wherever the emigrants settled this was the rule adopted.

They could hope now to live in the manner most conducive to happiness according to their ideas, which were naturally different from those of modern Europeans or Americans, for they were men and women with seventeenth century thoughts though they had been born in the nineteenth. A great cattle run called a farm, with plenty of grass and running water, a thatched-roof house on it with a broad elevated terrace or stoep in front, a garden with an orchard and a couple of acres of corn land under irrigation close by, shady trees growing around, large folds or kraals filled at night with fat kine and sheep and goats, a few good horses, and abundance of game for hunting, that was their ideal of what a home should be. Add to this an erf in a village, with a green-shuttered cottage on it, in which to reside three or four days every quarter when attending the church services and buying or selling at auctions or stores, and what could a reasonable being wish for more? Surely if God gave this and health, a Christian man or woman should be satisfied, and not incur anxiety or weariness of mind and body by striving for something else.

But even to enjoy this unprogressive mode of existence a government is necessary, for property cannot be held without laws and courts of justice. The government that the emigrant farmers established was probably the simplest democracy ever known. There was a volksraad of twenty-four members elected by the whole body of people for one year. It met once every quarter at Maritzburg, and at the commencement of every session appointed a chairman, who had the title of president, and with the assistance of a few of the members carried on the administration during the next three months.

All appointments to office were made by the volksraad. Commandants and fieldcornets were chosen by it for military purposes, and landdrosts and heemraden for each of the three districts to carry out the laws. But it was not the supreme authority, for every measure of importance had to be submitted to the whole body of the people for approval or rejection.

There was a trait in the character of the emigrants that made any kind of real government almost impossible: they objected to pay any but the most trifling direct taxes. They therefore tried to raise a revenue by means of customs duties, on a scale by which articles of luxury or such as could be produced in the country were very heavily rated, while necessary manufactures of common use were lightly charged; but the total receipts hardly met the cost of collection. The only direct tax was one of four dollars and thirty-two cents a year on each farm, and this was hardly ever paid. Thus the republic was practically without a revenue, and though the civil list was so small as to be ludicrous—it did not amount altogether to \$2,400 a year,—the trifling salaries of the few officials were always behindhand.

The real condition of the country was one of anarchy. There was no police, so that any one who chose could set the law at defiance. Jealousy between individuals was so high that violent scenes were frequent even in the volksraad chamber, and as the number of men in the country who could write a letter correctly or keep a ledger could be counted on the fingers of one hand, public affairs of every kind were in a state of constant confusion.

Yet these people aspired not only to independence, but to a recognised position of equality among the



nations of the earth. It is indeed a good thing for a community as well as for an individual to set a high ideal before the eye, but in the one case as in the other that is useless unless a strong and continuous effort tempered by prudence and carefulness be made to realise it. And of prudence, in the sense of political tact, the farmer founders of Natal were more destitute than any other people in the world. Just over the Drakensberg there was a man from whom they could have learned much, if they had been disposed to learn at all. There Moshesh, the astute chief of the mountain, profiting by the defeat of Moselekatse and Dingan, was building up a great power, and taking care to keep very quiet during the process. But they did not learn how to act from him.

Instead of this they wrote to Sir George Napier asking for an acknowledgment of their independence by the British government, offering a kind of friendly alliance, and then set blindly to work to provoke the jealousy of British merchants and the interference of the Cape authorities. Foreign vessels were admitted to trade at Port Natal, and though the amount of business carried on was exceedingly small, the eyes of merchants in Port Elizabeth and Capetown were drawn to the fact that a gateway was open through which commerce with the interior and the Kaffir country might be very largely developed under a hostile tariff.

Some cattle having been stolen from various farmers, their spoors were traced to the rugged country along the Umzimvubu River which was occupied by a remnant of the once powerful Baca tribe under the chief Ncapayi, and in December, 1840, a commando of two hundred and sixty men was called out to pun-

ish the robbers. There was really no other way without an effective police of recovering the lost property and preventing such acts in future, but this was exactly what the British government of the day condemned most strongly, and it might be certain that the act would be resented. The commando was joined by the Hlangweni chief Fodo, who was at feud with the Bacas, and the combined force fell upon Ncapayi and easily defeated him. The Europeans took three thousand head of horned cattle, among which were some of those that had been stolen, and the Hlangwenis took about two thousand sheep and goats.

A report of this event was at once sent to Sir George Napier by some missionaries who were in the neighbourhood, accompanied by a petition from the Pondo chief Faku for protection against a similar attack. Thereupon the governor sent a couple of hundred soldiers under Captain Thomas Charlton Smith, of the 27th regiment, to form a post on the Umgazi River, close to the southern border of Natal, for the defence of the Bantu tribes.

Natal, with Zululand on the north and Kaffirland on the south, was like the low ground under two reservoirs of water. Now that Dingan's power was destroyed the sluices were open, and it was just as inevitable that natives should move into the almost vacant territory—for the emigrant farmers could only occupy a very small portion of it—as that the water should run into the lower fields. Part of the Pondo tribe moved in from beyond the Umzimvubu, and some thousands of refugees came trooping over the Tugela. The volksraad decided to put a stop to this. In August, 1841, it was determined to offer these people the choice either of returning whence

they came, of taking service with the Europeans, or of being confined to a location which it was proposed to form between the Umtamvuna and Umzimvubu rivers, where they would be under the superintendence and general control of an officer appointed by the volksraad. These terms do not seem to be in any way harsh or unjust, but the massing of natives in the place intended was objectionable to Sir George Napier, because it might have a tendency to press the southern tribes down upon the Cape Colony.

All this time a correspondence was being carried on between the volksraad and Sir George Napier, the one maintaining that the emigrants were absolutely independent, the other that they were and must remain British subjects. But now the governor's hands were strengthened by a despatch from Lord John Russell, dated 21st of August, 1841, in which he was authorised to reoccupy Port Natal in such a manner as to command the harbour, but not to interfere with the emigrants unless the troops or friendly Kaffir tribes were attacked. As soon as this despatch was received a proclamation was issued, 2nd of December, 1841, in which the governor announced his intention of sending a detachment of troops to the port and warned all British subjects of the consequences of resistance to them or to Her Majesty's authority.

Accordingly reinforcements were sent on to the Umgazi post, and Captain Smith was directed to march to Port Natal and form a camp. Some stores were sent from the colony by sea to meet him there about the time of his arrival. When this became known at Maritzburg the volksraad met in special session, and on the 21st of February, 1842, addressed a long letter to the governor, recapitulating their case

and their claims, and denying a desire for war, but announcing their intention to resist.

On the 1st of April, 1842, Captain Smith with two hundred and sixty-three men of all ranks and three cannon left the Umgazi, and on the 4th of May, after a march of two hundred and sixty miles, reached his destination, having met with no obstacle on the way except from swollen rivers. A protest from the volksraad was at once presented to him, which was followed by a declaration that an envoy had been sent to Holland and that the republic had been placed under the protection of that power; and when he took no notice of either the one or the other, on the 20th a formal demand was made that he should immediately withdraw his troops. His reply was laconic: "I shall not go."

Meantime Commandant-General Pretorius had sent over the mountains for assistance, and the burghers of Natal were assembling at Kongela, about three miles from the English camp. Captain Smith, who altogether underrated both their bravery and their military skill, resolved to attack and disperse them before they became too strong, and with that intention during the night of the 23rd set out with a hundred and thirty-seven men and two guns drawn by oxen. It was clear moonlight, and the road was along a dense thicket. The expedition could not have been better planned to court disaster. When in the most exposed position a volley was poured into the line of troops, who returned it harmlessly on the thicket. A second volley wounded some of the oxen, which broke loose and rushed about, adding to the confusion. There was nothing to do but to retreat as quickly as possible, leaving everything behind. Nineteen men lost their lives and thirty-one

were wounded. These were carefully tended by the farmers, and on the following day were sent to the English camp, as were the dead bodies to be buried by their comrades.

There were two small vessels in the harbour laden with stores and ammunition. Some of the cargo had been landed, and was lying on the beach under charge of a sergeant and twenty-three men. On the 26th the emigrants took possession of the vessels and everything else, after a skirmish in which two soldiers of the guard and a civilian were killed, two other soldiers wounded, and the remainder taken prisoners. A proposal was then made to Captain Smith that he should leave in the vessels, and to gain time to put his camp in a condition for defence, he consented to enter into negotiations. In the meanwhile Richard King, one of the English inhabitants of Durban, had set off with two good horses to ride overland to Grahamstown with intelligence of what had happened.

The negotiations of course came to nothing, and in the evening of the 31st the English camp was invested. There were some women and children in it, but Commandant Pretorius offered them shelter on board the *Mazeppa*, which was gladly accepted. Captain Smith had now between a hundred and eighty and a hundred and ninety effective men within his earthworks, and to add to his food supply, which was small, the officers' horses were killed and their flesh was dried in the sun. The besiegers were about six hundred strong. But for this kind of warfare the emigrants were not adapted, and though they dug trenches and kept up a fire from their cannon, their chief hope of success was that the soldiers would be compelled by hunger to surrender. During

the twenty-six days of the siege only eight men were killed and as many wounded on the British side, and not a breach was made, while the farmers' loss was almost as great.

Richard King, upon whose mission Captain Smith depended for relief, was a hunter with extraordinary power of endurance, as good a horseman as any in South Africa, and perfectly at home in Kaffirland. He was just the man for the feat. Riding night and day with the shortest possible intervals for sleep, and getting fresh horses occasionally, he made a marvellously rapid journey. The military authorities heard his story, and recognised that there was not a moment to lose. Troops were hurried away from Port Elizabeth and Capetown, with the result that on the 26th of June the frigate *Southampton* and the schooner *Conch* were before the bay of Natal with the needed relief. A breeze was blowing fair to enter, so the *Conch* took the frigate's boats in tow, and sailed in with two hundred and twenty soldiers, while the *Southampton* covered the Bluff with her heavy guns. Fire was opened upon her as soon as she passed the line of protection, and three men were killed and five wounded, but these were the last shots in defence of the Republic of Natal, for before she dropped her anchors the farmers began to disperse, and at four o'clock in the afternoon the famished soldiers in the camp, who could not have held out much longer, were relieved.

The farmers retired to Maritzburg, where a meeting of the volksraad was held, at which accusations of each other and recriminations were bandied about with the utmost violence. Many little groups retired from the town to their farms, declaring that they would not consider themselves bound by any resolu-

tions that were passed, in other words repudiating their own government. Matters military and political were thus in a condition of perfect chaos, and the best men in the country despaired of any improvement except under British rule. Messrs. Pretorius, Boshof, Landman, and others thereupon sent an invitation to the officer commanding the troops to visit the town, and on the day after his arrival, 15th of July, an agreement was concluded between him and a quorum of the volksraad, which amounted practically to a cessation of arms and a continuance of things just as they were until the Queen's pleasure could be known.

Even yet there was the greatest reluctance on the part of the imperial ministers to include Natal in the British dominions. Sir George Napier urged it upon them as an unavoidable necessity to prevent the opening of a rival port to the commerce of the interior, and he even went so far as to take upon himself the responsibility of detaining the troops there after the receipt of instructions to withdraw them. At length, after a long correspondence, he was directed to send a commissioner to the country to report fully upon the condition of everything there, and in May, 1843, Advocate Henry Cloete was appointed for that purpose.

Upon his arrival Mr. Cloete found that there was not a single cent in the treasury of the republic, while the salaries of the officials were months in arrear; that the landdrosts had no power to enforce their judgments, there being but one policeman in the whole country and he infirm, so that practically every man was a law to himself; that dissension was so rife that there was danger even of the members of the volksraad coming to blows; that in Zululand there

had been an insurrection in which Panda had behaved with the most atrocious ferocity, with the result that fifty thousand refugees were then moving up and down on Natal soil; that the British commanding officer would not permit a commando to be raised to drive the refugees back, and that consequently many families had abandoned their farms and taken refuge in the two up-country towns.

In August, 1843, Mr. Cloete met the great body of the emigrants at Maritzburg. Armed bands from beyond the mountains were there also, having come to take part in proceedings that were to decide the fate of Natal. The great majority were in favour of resistance to the British government, and on this side were practically the whole of the women, but a few of the most intelligent men saw no chance of continuing the strife successfully, and candidly admitted that the Republic of Natal had failed. The discord was great, but upon Mr. Cloete's stating that he would recommend the Drakensberg as the British boundary, all those who were prepared to undergo further sacrifices for independence withdrew, and moved away to the district of Potchefstroom north of the Vaal River. The others agreed to admit the Queen's sovereignty, but at the close of 1843 there were not five hundred emigrant families left in Natal.

The result of the commissioner's proceedings and report was that Natal with limits as yet undefined was recognised as a British possession, and in November, 1843, custom house officers were appointed. In May of the following year the imperial authorities decided that the country was to be a dependency of the Cape Colony. On the 21st of August, 1845, its boundaries were defined, when all the land south of the Umzimkulu River was cut off, but on the north



the territory between the Umzinyati or Buffalo River and the Tugela was included, as had previously been arranged with Panda. A little later a staff of officials was appointed, and with their arrival in December, 1845, the new order of things may be said to have been completed. Unfortunately the long delay in taking possession, to which must be added the policy pursued thereafter, had allowed so many Bantu refugees to enter the territory that it was a black man's not a white man's land that was taken over.

In this year, 1845, the exports of Natal consisted of farm produce to the value of \$31,704 and ivory to the value of \$17,073.60.

And so, entirely against the wish of the British ministry, but under the pressure of circumstances materially affecting the Cape Colony, the imperial domain in South Africa was enlarged by some nineteen thousand square miles.

## CHAPTER XXII.

## THE CREATION OF NATIVE TREATY STATES.

WHEN the emigrants from Natal settled in the district of Potchefstroom, Commandant Potgieter and his adherents moved farther north and founded the village of Lydenburg, their object being to get as close as possible to Delagoa Bay; but as fever attacked them a good many families soon afterwards went on to the Zoutpansberg. The condition of things there was already very different from what it had been ten years previously. Then, the only natives to be seen were a few faint-hearted, half-starved little bands occupying almost inaccessible positions in the mountains; now, these had emerged into the open country, and having been joined by many fugitives from beyond the Limpopo, where Moselekatse had settled, were swelling out into the Baramapulana tribe. The same thing was taking place farther south, where the present Bapedi tribe was being formed; and there was a still more notable instance around Thaba Bosigo, where in 1842 the missionaries reckoned that Moshesh had already a following of from thirty to forty thousand souls.

These people did not want white men to settle among them, more especially white rulers. They recognised of course the great service that had been performed for them by the driving away of the Matabele, but when that was done their great desire was

to be left to themselves, to live as they chose in their own way, without being worried by strangers of another race.

The emigrant farmers took a different view of the matter. The country belonged to them, as they had wrested it from Moselekatse, and if black people came there to live it must be as subjects. It mattered not that most of them were the lineal descendants of those who had once owned the country and who were now returning from exile, as the Bakwena,—the tribe with which the Reverend Dr. Livingstone was soon afterwards a missionary, whose remnant had just come out of the desert to Kolobeng,—the Bahurutsi, the Bangwaketsi, the Bamangwato, and many more. They could live in their own way and according to their own laws as they wished to, but they must hold their locations as fiefs from the Europeans, and they must pay a labour tax. In no case would any one among them be allowed to hold a farm under individual tenure, as he would then become a burgher with the same rights and duties as the white man, and that could not be permitted.

The labour tax needs explanation, as it has been widely condemned, especially by the missionaries, as really slavery under another name. A location was defined, and a chief with his clan was permitted to live upon it on condition of furnishing a fixed number of male labourers for a certain number of days every year. A commandant or a fieldcornet would then call out these labourers and distribute them as they were needed. Unquestionably such a system was liable to be greatly abused in a country and at a time when there was no settled government, no police, no protection for the weak from the powerful, and there can be little doubt that there were

many cases of real hardship under it. Under a strong government, and especially if the labourers were employed on some public work, it would seem to be an admirable form of taxation, as it compelled idle young men to learn to labour. The farmers who enforced it always maintained that in practice it was more reasonable and more humane than the English system of taxation, by which the head of a family had to pay a fixed sum of money every year, which sum he obtained by the labour of his wives and daughters. The difference is, they said, that we make the men work and the English the women, that is all.

In general the natives were submissive, but some of the stronger clans from time to time set the white men at defiance, and then a petty war followed, which invariably ended in the defeat of the blacks. There is neither space in a work such as this for even a brief account of these disturbances, nor do they come within the compass of its subject, but those who wish for information upon them can obtain it in the fifth and sixth volumes of my *History of South Africa*.

By this time the whole country between the Orange and Limpopo rivers was thinly occupied by Europeans, and there were at least a dozen different governments so-called among them, for there was not even as much cohesion among the different parties as there had been in the Republic of Natal. This condition of things seemed to invite vagabonds of every description, absconding debtors, deserters from the British army, ruffians pure and simple, to make the northern territory their home, and thereafter, especially on the borders of Zoutpansberg, were to be found gangs of miscreants of various nationalities

living by hunting and plundering, and whose hands were often steeped in blood.

It was really a very difficult matter for the colonial government to give advice, or for the imperial government to give instructions, as to what was to be done under these circumstances. The great missionary and philanthropic societies in England, aghast at the quantity of blood that had been shed in the wars with Moselekatse and Dingan, and believing those chiefs and their people to have been the innocent and helpless victims of brutal violence on the part of the farmers, were calling out in a tone that the secretary of state could not but heed. The Reverend Dr. Philip, superintendent of the London Society's missions in South Africa, devised a plan that all his supporters regarded as just and feasible, that the colonial government itself approved of, and which it was therefore instructed to carry into execution.

It was to form a band of Native Treaty States along the borders of the Cape Colony, which would cut off intercourse with the interior and thereby compel the emigrant farmers to return across the Orange. For this purpose the chiefs most friendly with the missionaries, who were to be their advisers, were to be selected, and treaties were to be entered into with them, providing not only for British friendship and influence on their behalf, but, if needed, for British military support. A policy more antagonistic to that of the present day could hardly be devised, yet in 1843 no one of any importance in England opposed it, and the colonists in South Africa, whether English or Dutch, had no voice in the matter.

The individuals selected by Dr. Philip to be the

heads of the new states, and who were approved of by the governor, were the Griqua captain Adam Kok and the Basuto chief Moshesh. A treaty had been entered into nine years before with the Griqua captain Andries Waterboer, by which, in return for certain specified assistance, that individual had undertaken to protect the northern colonial border opposite the Orange River from a little kraal named Kheis on the west to the mission outpost of Ramah on the east, and Waterboer had kept his engagement well. Provided by the colonial government with muskets and ammunition, he armed a considerable band of followers, with whom he attacked a Hottentot marauder named Stuurman, whose gang occupied the same islands in the Orange River that had once been held by Afrikanders, and utterly exterminated the robbers. Thus there was already one head of a clan in treaty alliance, though without a defined territory excepting from Kheis to Ramah, that is, from the desert to some distance up the Orange River. Here the country was of such a nature that no emigrants were ever likely to attempt to pass through it.

To Adam Kok was now assigned the territory between the Orange and Modder rivers from Ramah up to the French mission station Bethulie. He had at the time a following of from fifteen hundred to two thousand souls of both sexes and all ages, and there were actually more Europeans than Griquas on the ground of which he was recognised as the owner. He was to have a hundred muskets with a quantity of ammunition and a yearly subsidy of \$480 in money, and the London Missionary Society was to have \$240 yearly for a school.

To Moshesh was assigned the whole remaining country along the Orange northward almost to the

sources of the Caledon. He was to have a subsidy of \$360 a year either in money or in arms and ammunition as he should choose.

These treaties did not have the effect intended. The emigrant farmers in both the new states refused to recognise them or to consider themselves the subjects of barbarian chiefs. A number of little groups of people, Griqua, Korana, and Barolong, had been collected by Wesleyan missionaries at different places on the western bank of the Caledon, where stations had been formed, and these declared one and all that they would perish rather than submit to the authority of Moshesh. That chief behaved with great prudence and moderation in endeavouring to conciliate them, but his sons, who were without a share of his sagacity, acted differently, and wars arose which kept the country along the Caledon in confusion for many years.

In March, 1844, Sir Peregrine Maitland succeeded Sir George Napier as governor of the Cape Colony. Upon his arrival he found that matters in the Griqua Treaty State were fast tending towards war. Adam Kok had attempted to exercise authority over a farmer, upon which the whole body of Europeans in the territory threatened resistance. But these were now divided into two parties, one under Commandant Michiel Oberholster, weary of the prevailing anarchy and desirous of a firm government under the British flag, the other under Commandants Jan Mocke and Jan Kock, bitterly opposed to British interference. Early in the following year hostilities actually broke out, upon which the governor sent two hundred soldiers to the mission station Philippolis, where Adam Kok resided, to support the authority of the chief. This force was followed very shortly by another and

larger one of cavalry, and being joined by the Griquas advanced against a camp which the farmers had formed. Some two hundred and fifty of these were drawn out by stratagem, and on the 2nd of May, 1845, there was a skirmish at a place called Zwartkopjes, in which three men were killed on the emigrant and one on the British side, and which ended in the utter rout of the farmers. The camp was taken with a hundred prisoners and a quantity of spare arms and ammunition.

Sir Peregrine Maitland then visited the country in person to endeavour to make some arrangement for its pacification. All the chiefs and captains of the slightest note between the Orange and the Vaal, except Sikonyela, assembled to meet him, and he listened patiently to what they had to say. The emigrant farmers were there too, and they were allowed to tell their story. The conclusion that the governor came to was that the farmers had as much moral right to be in the territory as the Griquas, and that it was now impossible for them to return to the colony, even if they wished to. But it was absurd to suppose that they could be placed under the rule of a Griqua captain, and at the same time Great Britain would neither absolve them from their allegiance and so enable him to recognise a government of their own, nor would she extend her boundaries and so permit him to establish direct authority over them. The governor, however, was clever enough to devise means for solving the difficulty. His plan was to give them a real, though indirect government by British officials, while professing to maintain the Griqua Treaty State.

He therefore proposed to Adam Kok, who under the treaty claimed all the rights of an independent



sovereign, to divide his country into two sections. The one between the Riet and Modder rivers was to be open to the emigrant farmers, who were to pay quitrent for the ground. The one between the Riet and Orange rivers was to be reserved for Griquas, and as there were over eighty farms in it then held by Europeans, these were to be regarded only as leaseholds for forty years. The governor would appoint a gentleman to reside at Philippolis as British Resident, and Adam Kok would sign a commission empowering him to act as a magistrate. The governor would also station troops in the country for Kok's protection and to enforce the decisions of the magistrate. Half the quitrents and fines of court should be devoted to paying the costs of the magistrate, and the other half should be handed over to Kok to do what he liked with.

The whole arrangement was a farce, but Adam Kok at once agreed to it, for it maintained his dignity and provided him with a salary, and many of the emigrant farmers consented to it too, as it gave them peace and a prospect of relief from anarchy. Three hundred and sixteen heads of families had taken an oath of allegiance to Her Majesty, and these now settled on farms. The others, under Commandants Mocke and Kock, moved away, some to Winburg and some over the Vaal, to be free from British influence.

The new arrangement with Adam Kok was embodied in a treaty not dated or signed until February, 1846, though it was put into operation in June, 1845. Captain Henry Douglas Warden, of the Cape corps, was appointed British Resident, and took up his station at Philippolis, with a company of his regiment to support him. A few months later he selected

a better site, which was named Bloemfontein, where he fixed his court. Justice was administered by him in the name of Adam Kok, and thus white emigrants from the colony were theoretically governed by a semi-barbarian, an emigrant like themselves, but with the advantage—as far as treatment by the British authorities of the day was concerned—of having a coloured skin. The plan was fairly successful, however, and for some years there was peace and prosperity in that part of the country.

The governor tried to make a similar arrangement with Moshesh, but that chief, though he was careful not to give offence by declining outright, was sufficiently astute to prevent the loss of any part of the territory assigned to him by the Napier treaty. He professed a strong desire for friendship and peace with the governor and the white people, and offered a plot of land far distant from that occupied by his followers and so small that no revenue derived from it could suffice to meet the cost of a Resident. Adjoining the plot thus offered there were nearly three hundred farmers occupying ground, and still there was a great open space between them and his outposts. These families he desired the governor to remove. It was impossible to comply with his proposal, and thus nothing could be done in the Basuto Treaty State.

Moshesh did not attempt to molest or interfere directly with the white people, however, and though immediately after the conference he began to push his outposts into the districts occupied by them, peace remained unbroken. Mr. Jacobus Theodorus Snyman, who was the principal commandant of the emigrants there, was a man of good sense and prudence, who, like Commandant Oberholster, had a dread of

anarchy, and was desirous of the introduction of British authority to prevent it. But that, under the circumstances, was impossible, so he did what he could to keep his adherents out of disturbances.

A treaty of less importance than either of those above mentioned was concluded in 1844 with the Pondo chief Faku, by which the whole territory between the Umtata and Umzimkulu rivers, the Drakensberg and the sea, was assigned to him. It led to a great deal of strife and bloodshed between his people and other tribes living there, but needs no further mention in these pages than the statement that it completed the chain of native treaty states by which it was attempted to cut off the Cape Colony from the rest of Africa.

And now that the highest point of the mistaken policy of the philanthropic societies regarding the treatment of the Bantu has been reached, or rather has just been passed, a glance may be given at the general condition of those people along the whole line from the mouth of the Fish River to the Zambesi.

Along the eastern border of the Cape Colony all is confusion and unrest. The British settlers, suffering from constant thefts by the Xosas, are in a state of exasperation and hardly know what to do.

In Kaffirland, the territory between the Cape Colony and Natal, there is an interminable series of feuds between the tribes and clans, which prevent anything like progress in civilisation or the development of mission work.

In Natal a great portion of the land that might have been used for European colonisation, to the advantage of the empire and the world, is being laid out in locations for Bantu refugees.

In Zululand, Panda, released from the obligations

imposed upon him by the emigrant farmers, is treated by the British authorities as an independent ruler, and is beginning to build up again that formidable power which in later years cost so much British and colonial blood to break.

The Swazis in their mountain land are growing in strength, and between them and the Zulus there is often war.

In Basutoland Moshesh is welding together the fragments of half a hundred clans from which is to grow a tribe of more importance than any other in South Africa.

Sekwati in the same way is building up the Bapedi power, but as yet is submissive to the emigrant farmers.

The Baramapulana are gathering numbers in the Zoutpansberg.

The Betshuana tribes have come out of the desert and settled where they are to be found to-day, but are as yet too feeble to attract much notice.

Sotshangana is still on the Sabi, Sebetuane is at Linyanti, and Moselekatse is among the Motopo hills, but though these names are words of terror to the scattered and peeled Mashona, Makalanga, and Batonga clans, their followers have lost much of the ferocity which they exhibited at the commencement of their destructive careers.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### PROGRESS IN THE CAPE COLONY FROM 1836 TO 1850.

WITHIN the Cape Colony at this time, notwithstanding the great depression of agriculture that followed the emancipation of the slaves, the unrest of the settlers along the eastern frontier, and the emigration of many thousands of stockbreeders, marks of progress were not wanting.

Among these was the establishment in 1836 of municipal government for the towns and villages. To councils elected by residents owning fixed property were confided all such matters as providing a proper supply of water, keeping in order and lighting the streets, drainage, and local improvements in general, for which purposes they were empowered to levy rates. This must be regarded as the school in which men are trained to take part in representative government, although where the towns are so small as those in South Africa there is not much scope for the acquirement of facility in debate or of an extensive acquaintance with the management of public affairs. The chief value of the training for participation in larger representative assemblies that municipal boards give here consists in the lessons learned in them by men possessed perhaps of ability, but otherwise selfish and mean-minded. Exposed to public observation, with their conduct freely commented upon by the newspapers, such men learn that

to avoid the contempt of their fellows they must pursue a course of rectitude.

In the Cape Colony, as everywhere else, there are clever men who are incapable of understanding that the highest aim in life should be formation of character, whose sole object is the acquisition of wealth, and without the training that municipal institutions ordinarily give, such men would make representative government a curse instead of a blessing to a country. They would find their way into parliament and taint it with the baseness of their motives.

Municipal government has as a rule worked well in South Africa. There have of course been blunders, where public money has been misspent, and sections of ratepayers have often been found grumbling; but of corruption such as one reads of in other countries, of party purposes served, of councillors making use of their power for the benefit of their own pockets, of such contemptible practices the country has been singularly free. There has been indeed one instance recently, which cannot be ignored, of a different line of conduct pursued by an individual in the position of a mayor; but the closest inquiry shows that it stands alone in the Cape Colony, and a single exception does not detract from the truth of the statement made above.

In 1843 another step in the same direction was taken by the creation of elective divisional road boards, which have since developed into divisional councils. In the Cape Colony the word district is applied to any tract of territory in which there is a resident stipendiary magistrate, the word division to a tract of territory under the administration of a civil commissioner. The latter is equivalent to the word county in Canada and elsewhere. A dis-

trict and a division usually embrace exactly the same area, and the resident magistrate is also civil commissioner, but this is not always the case, and there may be several magisterial districts within one fiscal division.

The road boards as created in 1843 consisted of four members elected for three years by the owners of property in each division, with the civil commissioner as chairman. They had power to levy rates for the construction and maintenance of branch roads. A central road board was established, consisting of three official and three unofficial members appointed by the governor, who had power to levy yearly rates not exceeding one two-hundred-and-fortieth of the appraised value of all landed property in the colony, and to establish tolls and ferries, for the purpose of constructing and maintaining main roads throughout the country. The central board had also the control of convict labour, and received grants of money from the legislative council in aid of particular pieces of work. By it in a few years a great deal was done in the way of making roads through mountain passes and bringing the interior into easy communication with the coast.

In course of time the duties of the central board were transferred to the elective divisional boards, then termed councils, to which additional powers were given. Every landholder in the colony is under the obligation of paying divisional rates varying in amount according to circumstances, and has a vote in the election of the divisional councillors. This is exclusive of municipal rates and taxes in the towns and villages, which owners and occupiers of property residing within the municipal areas must also pay.

The divisional councils have worked fairly well,

though the complaint is frequently heard in thinly populated parts of the colony that the cost of their maintenance, consisting chiefly in salaries of officers and travelling expenses, absorbs so much of their revenue that either the rates are unduly heavy or the expenditure on public works is inadequately small.

A great improvement in the system of public education was made in 1838, in accordance with a plan drawn up by the eminent astronomer Sir John Herschel, who was then residing in the colony. Two classes of schools were established in the chief centres of European population. Those of the elementary class were open without charge to all children of good behaviour in the community, and the Dutch language could be used as the medium of instruction where parents desired it. Above these in the principal villages were high schools, in which the medium of instruction was English only, and in which fees not exceeding \$19.20 per annum could be charged to pupils. The teachers were appointed and paid by the government, the schoolrooms and furniture were provided by local boards, and the chief administration was confided to an official termed the superintendent-general of education.

This system was modified and improved in later years, and gradually grew into the admirable educational establishment of the present day. After his return to Europe Sir John Herschel took much trouble in selecting and sending out suitable Scotch teachers. As an acknowledgment of his services in this respect, some years later a district in the colony was named after him.

During the early part of this period the colony received from Great Britain a few immigrants, and



retired officers of the East India Company's service began to settle in the suburbs of Capetown, where they afterwards grew into a small community which gave a distinct tone to society in the peninsula. Several hundred soldiers whose time of service had expired were allowed to take their discharge in Albany, where they could make a living much more easily than in Europe. About seven hundred and fifty destitute boys and girls collected in English towns were sent out by a benevolent society between 1835 and 1839, and were apprenticed to colonists. Some of these turned out badly, but the majority did tolerably well, though owing to their early habits and in many instances to defective stamina they were not the most desirable persons to form colonists.

For several years after this there were hardly any additions to the European population from the mother country, but between 1846 and 1848 there was a stream of immigration into the colony of the very best possible kind. The legislative council voted \$48,000 yearly for the purpose of giving free passages to small farmers, agricultural labourers, gardeners, mechanics, and domestic servants from the British islands, and commissioners were appointed to select from applicants those who were most suitable. The result was the choice of a number of industrious married people in the prime of life, who added very greatly to the welfare of the country.

They numbered in all four thousand one hundred and eighty-five individuals, who removed from England, Scotland, and the north of Ireland, like the British settlers of 1820, with the intention of making more comfortable homes for themselves and their children than those they were leaving in the places

of their birth. They were sent out in twenty ships sailing at regular intervals, so that each party had time to get settled before another arrived. Many of them at once arranged to take over portions of stocked farms to work on shares, and the others readily obtained employment until they found openings to do something for themselves. There were no instances whatever of failure to make a comfortable living.

There can be nothing but regret now with regard to the immigration of these settlers of 1846-48, that it was not on a very much larger scale. They were people with country habits, which fitted them for obtaining a living from the soil. Such people were then plentiful in the British islands, but they are not to be had there now, so that no future stream of immigration is likely to be of the permanent importance to South Africa that this was. They filled to a considerable extent the places of the farmers of Dutch descent who had moved away to the north, and they brought the proportion of the two nationalities in the Cape Colony more nearly to an equality than it was before.

In 1843 it was suddenly discovered that vast deposits of guano on some uninhabited rocky islets off the coast of Great Namaqualand were worth \$35 a ton in England. Immediately whole fleets of ships were employed in removing the valuable manure, and when it was all gone some merchants in Capetown took possession of the bare rocks for the sake of the fresh deposits. The colonial government benefited to the amount of about a quarter of a million dollars from licenses to remove the guano from a couple of islands farther south, within waters under its jurisdiction. In 1861 the largest of the northern

rocks—they are nothing more—was annexed to the British dominions, and the others followed in 1866. Since that date they have formed dependencies of the Cape Colony, and the guano yearly deposited on them is now removed and sold by officers of the government.

The public revenue was steadily advancing, owing not merely to the increase of population, but to the development of trade. A less vexatious method of taxation than the old system was introduced, and the public debt was paid off, which enabled useful works to be taken in hand. By 1850 the revenue amounted yearly to about \$1,000,000. Goods to the value of \$5,000,000 were imported annually, of which ninety-three per cent. were carried in British bottoms. The customs duties were five per cent. of the value on articles from British possessions, twelve per cent. on all other.

The number of magistrates was considerably increased, a matter of the first importance for the preservation of order in places remote from the seat of government.

In 1838 steamships began to be employed in the coasting trade between Capetown and Port Elizabeth, calling at Mossel Bay and sometimes at other intermediate ports on the passage. In 1845 a lightship was stationed in Simon's Bay. In 1849 a lighthouse of the first order was completed and opened for use at Cape Agulhas, and in 1851 one at Cape Recife. The navigation along the southern coast was thus made much less dangerous than in early years.

Banks and insurance offices were established in the principal towns, and excellently conducted newspapers, representing different views of politics, as well as magazines of a high class, were issued from the press. Many new villages were springing up,

mostly around Dutch churches built in favourable positions.

Thus the colony was unquestionably making as much progress as could reasonably be expected. On the eastern frontier, however, matters were continually getting worse. Sir George Napier, after trying every plan that he could devise to suppress the robberies of the Kaffirs without overturning the Glenelg system of treating with the chiefs as with civilised rulers, came at last to the conclusion that Sir Benjamin D'Urban had been right and that a reversion to that able and benevolent governor's system was highly advisable. This, however, he could not bring about without the approval of the imperial government and without war. In 1844 he was succeeded as governor of the colony by Sir Peregrine Maitland, a deeply religious and humane man, then far advanced in years.

Shortly after his arrival the new governor proceeded to the frontier, and was at once convinced that things could not long remain as they then were. The chiefs were ready to promise anything or to put their marks to any documents they were asked to sign, but to restrain their followers from cattle-lifting and murdering herdsmen who attempted to resist was something that they had no intention of doing. A series of new treaties was entered into, under which annual subsidies were to be paid to some of the chiefs, and the government obtained the right to establish military posts anywhere west of the Keiskama. As over a hundred individuals had lost their lives by the hands of Kaffirs since the introduction of the Glenelg system, the chiefs also undertook that persons accused of murdering British subjects should be surrendered for trial by colonial courts.

A very simple fort was then constructed near the present village of Alice, in the hope that the presence of soldiers would restrain the marauders, and the governor returned to Capetown. For a few months cattle-stealing nearly ceased, but when it became evident to the clans that their movements could not be watched by one little company of soldiers, it commenced again as before. Sandile, the successor of Gaika, was at this time the principal chief near the border. When remonstrated with he replied that he would do as he pleased, and openly set the British authorities at defiance. This was the condition of things along the Kaffir border at the beginning of 1846, after nine years' trial of the system for which Lord Glenelg had declared himself responsible.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

## EXPANSION OF THE BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

ON the 16th of March, 1846, a Kaffir who was detected in the act of stealing an axe at Fort Beaufort was arrested, and with some other persons accused of having committed crimes was placed in the custody of a guard to be conducted to Grahamstown for trial. On the way a band of his tribesmen, who had heard of the occurrence and at once made a dash over the boundary, released him by force, and cut off the hand of a Hottentot prisoner to whom he was manacled, as they could not otherwise get him free. The government demanded the surrender of the thief and the murderers of the Hottentot, in order that they might be tried by a colonial court, and met with an emphatic refusal from the chiefs.

A military force was then directed to occupy Sandile's kraal, in hope that its presence would be sufficient to bring him to submission; but the strength of the Kaffirs was altogether under-estimated, and a great disaster occurred. The troops marched into an ambush and lost severely, not only in killed and wounded, but by the Kaffirs obtaining possession of sixty-one waggons laden with baggage and stores. The column fought its way back as far as the mission station Lovedale, where a large stone building was converted into a temporary fort.

And now the terrible scene was again witnessed

of a great barbarian horde rushing into the colony, murdering, plundering, and devastating far and wide. Once more many hundreds of British and Dutch families were reduced from comfort to destitution, and were thrown upon the government for support in the towns and lagers to which they barely escaped with their lives. Every mission station except Lovedale, which was then a fort, and every trader's shop in the Xosa country was pillaged and destroyed, but the white people were allowed to retire to places of safety.

The soldiers were hurried to the front from Cape-town, and the farmers all over the colony were called out to take part in the war. The aged governor hastened to the border to direct military operations in person. But the country was parched with drought, so that the transport of food for men and horses was almost impossible, and for a long time nothing could be done to check the enemy. An attempt to throw supplies into Fort Peddie, which was beleaguered, failed, the whole convoy falling into the hands of the Kaffirs.

These early successes caused clans that were wavering before to join the enemy, and very shortly the entire Xosa tribe—with the exception of a few individuals—and nearly the whole of the Tembus had to be dealt with. The Fingos were on the white man's side, but they had enough to do to protect their own kraals.

In June the enemy met with a severe defeat at the Gwanga, but beyond that little was done until the rains in September and October made transport easy. Strong reinforcements of troops were now arriving from England, and the governor could put a force in the field that the Xosas and Tembus were unable to

resist. They were much too astute to give him an opportunity to crush them. As the armies advanced the men simply sat down in front, knowing they would not be shot while offering no resistance, and the women and children crowded round the troops and burgher forces, begging for food. The governor could not make them prisoners, he could not kill them, and he could not expel them.

Under these circumstances he determined to revert to the plan of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, and rule them as British subjects. The territory termed by Sir Benjamin the Province of Queen Adelaide he intended to annex to the empire under the name of British Kaffraria, and in the meantime the people in it, except three or four clans along the Kei who were still in arms, were placed under the authority of English officers. On this occasion no objections were raised by any one in South Africa. The Reverend Dr. Philip had seen his plans terminate in disaster, and when Jan Tshatshu, whom he had exhibited in England as a Christian Kaffir, took part in the atrocities with which the war commenced, he became a changed man. He had gone through great domestic affliction, and had borne up against it with the spirit of a Christian, but when Tshatshu's defection was announced to him he broke down completely. Soon afterwards he retired to the mission station Hankey, and never again took part in politics.

Sir Peregrine Maitland had not completed his arrangements for the administration of British Kaffraria, nor had he issued a formal proclamation annexing the province, when in January, 1847, he was succeeded as governor by Sir Henry Pottinger, who had also power as high commissioner to settle affairs in the territories adjacent to the colony. The



new governor proceeded to the eastern border, and sent a considerable force against the clans still in arms. To keep in order those who professed to have submitted, four or five hundred Kaffirs were armed and enrolled as police, a measure that the colonists believed to be fraught with danger.

In June, 1847, when the Kaffirs had gathered their crops and hidden their corn, Sandile threw off the mask of apparent submission, and the circle of war was again enlarged. But by sending patrols frequently into their retreats and keeping them from settling anywhere, the Kaffirs were soon again begging for peace, and by the time for planting gardens there was not a single chief openly in arms. Among themselves of course there was much merriment over the ease with which the white people could be deceived, for what the government termed peace they regarded merely as a truce.

At this time the mouth of the Buffalo River was first used as a convenient place for landing troops and stores, and Fort Glamorgan was built on the right bank near the entrance and garrisoned. Here a small village named East London sprang up, but since 1875 the opposite bank has become of much greater importance, on account of its being the terminus of a line of railway to the interior. The name East London embraces both banks, and the port is now the third in the Cape Colony in the value of its trade.

Sir Henry Pottinger's term of government was short. In December, 1847, he was relieved by Sir Harry Smith, who as Colonel Smith had been the head of the administration of the Province of Queen Adelaide under Sir Benjamin D'Urban. The whole country was jubilant, for Sir Harry was regarded

with the highest esteem by every one whether of Dutch or English birth. He was indeed a grand man, a brave and dashing soldier, generous and unselfish to the last degree, with broad and liberal views, just the officer for the post, if he had not come a dozen years too late. He had his faults like every one else, but they were few compared with his merits. Quick-tempered, he seemed at times to lose command of his tongue, but after swearing roundly at any one who annoyed him, his passion quickly cooled. Emotional, he would burst into tears on hearing a pathetic tale or an earnest exhortation from the pulpit. They are fast passing away from sight who knew Sir Harry Smith in South Africa, but even yet the mention of his name recalls to the aged something of the enthusiasm of their youth.

He came out with large power, and he lost no time in making use of it. Speeding to the frontier, on the 17th of December, 1847, he issued a proclamation from Grahamstown extending the boundary of the Cape Colony to the Orange River along its whole course on the north, and to the Kraai, Klaas Smit's, Zwart Kei, Tyumie, and Keiskama rivers on the east. Then pushing on to King-Williamstown, on the 23rd of the same month, in presence of the Xosa chiefs who were assembled for the purpose, he proclaimed the Queen's sovereignty over the territory between the new colonial boundary and the Kei, and announced that the days of treaties with the tribes were gone for ever.

Arrangements were then made for the new province of British Kaffraria almost identical with those of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, and Lieutenant-Colonel George Mackinnon was stationed at King-Williamstown in the same position as that once held by the

governor himself. He was to receive his instructions from the high commissioner, to whom he was to report upon all matters that might occur. A staff of officials to take charge of the various clans was then selected, and about two thousand soldiers were stationed at different places in the province. The weak feature of the arrangement was the retention of the Kaffir police of between four and five hundred men, who were armed with muskets and trained to use them.

As soon as these matters were concluded the energetic governor set out for the country north of the Orange, and on the 24th of January, 1848, had a conference at Bloemfontein with the Griqua captain Adam Kok. Sir Harry intended to destroy the treaty states, and to bring the Europeans in them under the Queen's government, for which purpose he was desirous of obtaining the consent of Adam Kok and Moshesh to other arrangements. Kok spoke at first of his rights as an independent sovereign in alliance with the Queen of England, and assumed such an attitude that the governor lost his temper and gave utterance to threats of the direst punishment. The Griqua captain then consented to affix his name to a document, by which in return for an allowance of \$960 a year for himself and \$480 a year for division among his people who had leased land north of the Riet River to Europeans, he abandoned all claim to territory excepting between the Riet and Orange rivers.

The farmers of Oberholster's party who occupied the ground thus surrendered by Adam Kok and those under Commandant Snyman who were living within the Basuto Treaty State sent deputations to Bloemfontein to welcome the governor, and to in-

form him that they would be glad if he would arrange for the establishment of proper courts among them in which justice should be administered in the name of the Queen. They were quite elated with the subversion of the Glenelg system of dealing with the coloured people, and generally with the turn things had taken.

From Bloemfontein the governor proceeded to Winburg, where Moshesh had been invited to meet him. The Basuto chief had by this time a powerful well-armed tribe at his back, but he was much too prudent to speak of his strength or to conduct himself as Adam Kok had done. He wished for the governor's friendship, he said, and made his mark on the paper that was placed before him, though he probably did not realise that by so doing he destroyed the only claim he could make to the larger portion of the territory assigned to him by Sir George Napier's treaty. The governor made him some valuable presents and treated him with the greatest courtesy, so that they parted on excellent terms, each gratified with the result of the interview.

From Winburg Sir Harry hurried over the Kathlamba to Natal, as he had been informed that the whole remaining families of Dutch blood were leaving that territory in a body, and he wished if possible to induce them not to do so. On the left bank of the Tugela, near the foot of the great range, he found them encamped and waiting for him. They could not remain in Natal, they said, as so many Bantu refugees had entered that country and had been located among the white people that their property and their lives were no longer safe. The governor promised to make arrangements for their security if they would return, and succeeded in persuading

some of them to do so. They settled on the highlands in the northern part of the colony, where their descendants are still to be found. Many, however, could not be induced to remain longer under the British flag, and moved on to the Magalisberg, where they hoped to live unmolested.

On the 3rd of February, 1848, Sir Harry Smith issued a proclamation from the camp on the Tugela, declaring the whole territory between the Orange and Vaal rivers up to the Drakensberg a British possession, under the name of the Orange River Sovereignty. This included the former Griqua and Basuto treaty states, besides several small tracts of land occupied by petty Bantu and Korana clans, the district of Winburg occupied by emigrant farmers, and much open ground farther west. At the moment he could count upon the whole of the farmers south of the Modder to support him in this act, and he believed, though as afterwards seen incorrectly, that the greater number of those north of that stream would offer no objection.

He then returned to Bloemfontein, and made arrangements for the government of the new province. These were exceedingly simple, but well adapted to the condition of the inhabitants, white and black, if they had only been willing to submit to them, or if there had been means to enforce them. The Sovereignty was divided into three districts, named Caledon River, Bloemfontein, and Winburg. In each there was to be a civil commissioner and resident magistrate, with the same powers as those of similar officers in the Cape Colony, but their jurisdiction was to extend only to white people and such blacks as chose to live with them as servants. The ground occupied by black people was to be carefully beaconsed off, and

each chief was to govern his own followers without interference within his own location. Disputes between the various chiefs were to be decided by the British Resident at Bloemfontein, who was thus to control what may be termed their foreign relations. In each district there was to be a land board consisting of the civil commissioner, two surveyors, and a burgher elected by the resident farmers, whose duties were to be the apportioning of farms and fixing the quitrents, which were not to be less than \$9.60 or more than \$38.40 per annum. The commandants and fieldcornets were to be elected by the burghers, and the military system was to be that of all other parts of South Africa occupied by Europeans. Any surplus revenue, after the few officials were paid, was to be devoted to the establishment of churches and schools.

Major Warden, with the title of British Resident, was instructed to remain at Bloemfontein as head of the government and correspond with the high commissioner in Capetown. Men of ability were selected for the other posts, and a garrison of from fifty to sixty men of the Cape regiment was left at Bloemfontein to support the established authority.

Sir Harry Smith returned to Capetown in the belief that he had provided for the future peace and happiness of all classes of people in the Orange River Sovereignty, and that a territory over fifty thousand square miles in extent had been added to Her Majesty's dominions without violence, solely in the interests of humanity. There was still the vast region north of the Vaal open to those who would not submit to British rule, so he did not apprehend danger from them, nor did he dream that Moshesh would scheme to destroy his plans.

He was soon undeceived as to the emigrant farmers. The great majority of those living in the district of Winburg resolved to appeal to arms, and sent to ask assistance from Commandant Pretorius and their friends over the Vaal. This was given, and a commando under Pretorius marched upon Bloemfontein and compelled the British Resident and all his adherents to retire to the southern bank of the Orange. When intelligence of this reached Capetown Sir Harry immediately set out with a strong body of troops, and marching as rapidly as possible, on the 26th of August reached the Sovereignty, without his passage of the river being disputed. Leaving here a guard to protect his pontoons, he continued his march with about eight hundred soldiers, a few farmers under Commandants Erasmus and Snyman, and two hundred and fifty Griquas under the captains Andries Waterboer and Adam Kok.

Three days after leaving the river—29th of August, 1848—the column reached Boomplaats and found a commando variously estimated at from five hundred to seven hundred and fifty men, under Mr. Pretorius, occupying a position of great natural strength. The governor believed that no white man in South Africa would fire at him, and in this confidence he was riding with a few soldiers some distance in advance of the main body when a shower of bullets from a boulder-covered hill fell around him. A European officer was badly wounded, three Hottentots of the Cape corps were killed, and one of Sir Harry's stirrup leathers was half cut through.

The farmers were sheltered behind boulders, but the troops stormed the hill and took it. The same thing occurred at other ranges farther in advance,

but when the last was taken the whole commando fled and crossed the Vaal River without any further attempt at resistance. The English loss in this engagement was twenty-two killed and thirty-eight severely wounded; the farmers, fighting under shelter, had nine killed and five badly wounded.

After the action the governor and the troops moved on to Bloemfontein. There two men who had fought at Boomplaats and had been made prisoners—one a deserter from the British army, the other a young farmer—were brought to trial before a court-martial, were condemned to death, and executed. Those who had been in arms were declared banished from the Sovereignty and their property was confiscated, fines were levied upon those who had aided them, and prices were set upon the heads of the principal leaders who had gone over the Vaal. A few days later the Queen's sovereignty was again proclaimed at Winburg, and another district, named Vaal River, was created.

Major Warden and the magistrates were then reinstated in office, a considerable garrison was left in Bloemfontein, where a fort in a commanding position was to be built without delay, and Sir Harry Smith with the remainder of the troops returned to Capetown.

The imperial authorities were still averse to assuming fresh responsibilities in South Africa, but they had such faith in the governor's judgment, and the result of the Glenelg policy had been so disastrous, that they reluctantly approved of what had been done, and thus in 1848 the British ensign waved over four distinct possessions in this part of the globe: the Cape Colony, British Kaffraria, Natal, and the Orange River Sovereignty.



## CHAPTER XXV.

## THE SUCCESSFUL ANTI-CONVICT AGITATION.

AN event of the greatest importance, as far as the welfare of South Africa was concerned, took place in 1849 and 1850, when an attempt was made by the imperial authorities to convert the Cape Colony into a penal settlement. As early as May, 1841, the secretary of state proposed that Europeans—chiefly soldiers—condemned in India to long terms of imprisonment should be confined on Robben Island, and liberated in Capetown on the expiration of their sentences; but Sir George Napier represented so forcibly the bad effect which such a measure would probably have upon the coloured people, and so many remonstrances and petitions against it were forwarded by the colonists to the Queen and to both houses of parliament, that this scheme was abandoned.

Another, however, equally objectionable, was proposed by Lord Stanley in March, 1842, which was to send out fifty convict boys to be apprenticed in the colony as an experiment. There was as much agitation over this scheme as over the other, and in November of the same year the secretary of state announced that it would not be carried out.

In 1848 still another, for the introduction of political convicts, was brought forward. At this time feeling was running strong in the colony over a different side of the immigration question. In

April, 1848, Earl Grey issued directions that no more agricultural families or artisans were to be sent out, as the remaining balance of the money voted by the legislative council to defray the cost of their passages was needed for certain military villages which were to be founded on the eastern frontier. This affected the colonists in two ways. First, though no one had any objection to the military villages, it was held that unmarried discharged soldiers, mostly men who had passed the prime of life, could not be of the same value to the country as the healthy industrious young married people for whose introduction the money was voted, and who were now debarred from migrating, except at their own expense. Secondly, it was regarded as a most arbitrary act that money voted by the legislative council for a particular purpose should be diverted by the secretary of state to something else, even if that something else had been of equal importance. Thus public feeling on Earl Grey's interference with immigration was already running strong when the proposal to send out political convicts was made.

Immediately there was a general agitation throughout the country, and memorials against the measure, circulated and signed everywhere, left Capetown for England on the 1st of January, 1849. Meantime, in August, 1848, Earl Grey had informed the governor that he would not send any convicts out unless there should be a prevalent opinion in the colony in favour of the measure, and as that was made known generally the excitement rapidly died away.

It revived again, however, with tenfold force when on the 21st of March, 1849, an announcement was made in the *Commercial Advertiser* at Capetown,

taken over from an English newspaper of the 30th of December, that a ship with convicts from the model prison at Pentonville was on her way to Bermuda, there to take in others for conveyance to the Cape of Good Hope. On the 4th of September, 1848, an order in council, to come into force on the 25th of November, had been issued, making the Cape a penal settlement, and this was the beginning of its operation.

In the general excitement which this announcement occasioned, it was some days before the people of the Cape peninsula could decide upon the course to be pursued to avert the dire calamity that threatened them, though all, English and Dutch alike, were resolved to use every exertion in their power to prevent the landing of the convicts. At length, on the suggestion of Mr. John Fairbairn, editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*, the following pledge was placed in the Commercial Exchange for signature:—

“CAPE TOWN, 5th April, 1849.

“The undersigned Inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope, having heard that, in violation of the pledge given by Lord Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, conveyed to the Colonists through His Excellency the Governor, his Lordship has resolved to convert this Colony into a Penal Settlement, on the worst and most dangerous principles, in defiance of the petitions and remonstrances of Her Majesty’s faithful subjects presented to Her Majesty in 1842, —and said to have been graciously received, and also to both Houses of Parliament,—

“We hereby declare and solemnly promise to each other, and to all our fellow Colonists, that we will not employ in any capacity, or receive on any terms

into our establishments, any one of the Convicted Felons, whom the Secretary of State for the Colonies has ordered to be transported to our shores and turned loose among us, under the designation of 'Exiles,' or Convicts holding Tickets of Leave.

"And we hereby call upon his Excellency the Governor, in the exercise of that discretionary power with which the Governor of every distant Colony is virtually invested, for the protection of his province against sudden or unforeseen dangers—to prohibit and prevent the landing at any port or place within the Colony, of any such Convicted Felons, and to convey to Her Majesty, by the first opportunity, this expression of the grief, shame, and indignation which this breach of faith, on the part of the Secretary for the Colonies, has filled every loyal heart."

As intelligence was received from the country districts it became known that the European inhabitants practically to a man were united on this question, and delegates from all quarters were sent to Capetown, where on the 19th of May over five thousand men were assembled on the grand parade and without a single dissentient voice declared themselves opposed to the reception of convicts. A committee—termed the Anti-Convict Association,—with Mr. John Bardwell Ebdon as its chairman, was elected to direct the movement, and a new and more stringent pledge was adopted. It read as follows:—

"We, the Undersigned, Colonists and Inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope, hereby solemnly declare and pledge our faith to each other, that we will not employ, or knowingly admit into our Establishments or Houses, work with or for, or associate with,

any convicted Felon or Felons sent to this Colony under Sentence of Transportation, and that we will discountenance and drop connection with any Person who may assist in landing, supporting, or employing such convicted Felons."

On the 15th of June a message was sent by the governor to the legislative council, which was then in session, announcing that on the preceding evening he had received despatches from Earl Grey containing instructions for the reception of the convicts from Bermuda, which it would be his duty to carry out. Every member of the council was opposed to the measure, and it was known that the governor personally objected to it as strongly as the colonists. It was therefore hoped that he would take the responsibility of suspending the operation of the order in council, but this he declined to do, and in consequence lost a good deal of his popularity. On the 11th of July, however, he stated his intention of keeping the convicts in the ship after her arrival until further instructions concerning their disposal should be received from Earl Grey. It would be beyond his power, he said, to order the vessel to leave.

And now petitions to the Queen, to the parliament, and to the people of England poured in from all parts of the country, pleading that the colony should not be ruined by the introduction of criminals who would not only bring a stain upon the character of its white inhabitants, but would be likely to lead the coloured people into all kinds of vice. Many justices of the peace and fieldcornets resigned their offices, with a view of creating a deadlock in the government. Messrs. Hamilton Ross, William Matthew Harries, John Bardwell Ebdon, and Henry Cloete,

unofficial members of the legislative council, with the same object resigned their seats. Messrs. Abraham de Smidt, Pieter Laurens Cloete, and Jacob Letterstedt, to whom the governor offered three of the vacant places, declined to accept them.

The different banks and insurance offices published notices that they would transact no business whatever with any person who employed a convict. The owners of hire houses in Capetown advertised to the same effect. The bakers refused to tender for supplies of biscuit needed by the commissariat, for fear it might be used to feed convicts. A great meeting was held at Malmesbury, and when it was over the whole assembly, with the Dutch clergyman at its head, proceeded to the church and solemnly committed its cause to the Almighty God.

On the 19th of September the *Neptune*, a ship of 643 tons burden, arrived in Simon's Bay with two hundred and eighty-two convicts who had committed offences during the pressure of the famine in Ireland. She had sailed from Bermuda on the 22nd of April, but had been delayed some time at Pernambuco, which port she left on the 11th of August. Two officers and forty-seven rank and file of the 91st regiment were on board as guards. Her arrival was announced to the inhabitants of Capetown by the tolling of the town-house gong and of all the church bells in the city, and was communicated as rapidly as possible to the most distant parts of the colony, where the intelligence was received as if it had been a report of the outbreak of the plague.

By the governor's orders no one was allowed to land from the ship,—and indeed had any one ventured to do so he must have perished of hunger or have performed some act to be committed to prison,

—but to the urgent entreaties of the colonists that she should be sent away, as they feared that the secretary of state would not relent and might even grant the convicts a free pardon in order to enable them to settle in the country, Sir Harry Smith turned a deaf ear.

On the 10th of October twelve individuals who were suspected of furnishing the government departments with provisions were denounced in the press, and were at once ostracised from society by their fellow citizens. At the same time a considerable sum of money was subscribed by wealthy persons to indemnify those who should sustain pecuniary loss by adhering faithfully to the pledge.

On the following day the Anti-Convict Association resolved that the whole of the stores and shops in the peninsula should be closed to every one but known customers, and that all intercourse with the government should be suspended. This was immediately done, and much of the business ordinarily carried on ceased entirely. The governor announced that he would use force, if necessary, to prevent the troops and civil servants from being starved, but he managed to obtain supplies without having recourse to extreme measures, chiefly through the agency of Captain Robert Stanford, a resident of Caledon, who afterwards received the honour of knighthood as a reward for his services to the imperial authorities on this occasion. A little later, however, Sir Robert published a volume concerning his affairs, in which he complained of having been utterly ruined in pocket by the attitude of his neighbours and earlier friends towards him.

This condition of things evoked a spirit of lawlessness. On the 15th of October there was a good deal

of rioting in Capetown, and several persons were assaulted. Late in the evening some twelve or thirteen negroes, who had been temporarily thrown out of employment by the cessation of business, led by a couple of disguised white men, attacked the residence of Mr. John Fairbairn at Green Point. This gentleman was the secretary and one of the most active members of the Anti-Convict Association, and as such was regarded by the ignorant blacks as the cause of their being without anything to do, certainly not a common grievance with men of their class. Mr. Fairbairn received some severe injuries, and his house was utterly wrecked before his neighbours could gather to his assistance, when the rioters withdrew.

Most of them had been recognised, and were afterwards arrested and brought to trial on the charge of housebreaking, theft, and assault with intent to commit murder. They were found guilty, but escaped punishment, owing to the discovery that one of the jurymen had personated his brother who had been summoned.

Week after week passed away, and Capetown remained like a city on the Sabbath, with its ordinary occupations suspended. Money was raised by subscription, and the unemployed were provided for, so that there was no longer a fear of riots and disorder. In December came a repetition of an earlier assurance by Earl Grey that there was no intention of sending any more convicts to the Cape, but the colonists did not relax their vigilance for a moment, nor waver in their determination that not one should be landed if they could prevent it.

This perseverance had its reward. At last, on the 13th of February, 1850, a despatch was received



by the governor from the secretary of state, dated the 30th of the preceding November, instructing him to send the *Neptune* to Van Diemen's Land, where the convicts on board were to receive a conditional pardon. She sailed in the morning of the 21st of February.

The long vigil was over, and everywhere there was rejoicing. Capetown was illuminated that night, and the streets were filled with people congratulating each other that the colony had been saved. Yes, the colony, more still, all South Africa had been saved from pollution. And Englishmen and Dutchmen had worked hand in hand, like brothers as they ought to be, to preserve their common country from the foulest of stains. To God who had given them grace to act as they had done their humble thanks were due. And so Friday, the 8th of March, 1850, was observed as a day of general thanksgiving to the Almighty for the deliverance of the country from the dreadful calamity with which it had been threatened.

Among the wretched prisoners on board the *Neptune* was the celebrated Mitchell, and, setting aside his political views and conduct, surely few men had fewer criminal propensities than he. To such a man to be regarded as unfit to set his foot on the soil of South Africa must have been galling indeed, yet he afterwards wrote that he greatly admired the conduct of the colonists and entirely approved of what they had done. A small sum of money—\$480—was subscribed in Capetown and sent on board the *Neptune* to be distributed among the convicts on their arrival in Van Diemen's Land, but beyond that no pity was manifested for them, more on account of the principle that was being contended for than owing

to disregard of the fact that many—perhaps most—of these men were not criminals in the ordinary sense of the word.

Mr. C. B. Adderley, a member of the House of Commons, had advocated the South African cause in a very able manner, and it was felt that some fitting acknowledgment should be made to him. Accordingly the municipality of Capetown voted \$480 to purchase a piece of plate as a testimony of their gratitude, and to the principal street in the city, which for nearly two centuries had been called the Heeregracht, his name was given.

The determined opposition of the colonists to the introduction of convicts is one of the most important features in the progress of South Africa during the nineteenth century. Men who could act as they had done had unquestionably risen to a high moral and intellectual standard, and had shown that they were qualified to take a leading part in the public affairs of the country.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### WARS AND TROUBLES THAT LED TO THE SAND RIVER CONVENTION.

UPON the completion of Sir Harry Smith's arrangements for the government of British Kaffraria the skeletons of the 27th, one wing of the 62nd, the 90th, and the first battalion of the 91st regiments of the line and the 7th Dragoon Guards, altogether about fifteen hundred strong, were sent back to England. The greater number of the men of these regiments had been allowed to take their discharge in South Africa, and with some of them four military villages, named Johannesburg, Woburn, Auckland, and Ely, were formed in the Tyumie valley.

The conditions of settlement in these villages were that each soldier was to have twelve acres of land with a free title after seven years' occupation; arms and ammunition, rations for twelve months for himself, wife, and children, a plough and a harrow, tools for constructing a house, and seed for cornlands and garden free; \$24 to purchase furniture; with a loan of oxen and waggons for the first season and of a tent till he could build a house. He could be called out for military service when needed, and was then to receive from sixty to eighty-four cents a day according to his class, and when required to drill was to be paid twelve cents a day less. In each village there was to be a superintendent, who was to have a hundred acres of land and \$1.20 a day for two years.

Under these conditions seventy men with two women and two children were located under the superintendency of Captain Moultrie at Johannesburg, seventy men under the superintendency of Lieutenant Armytage at Woburn, sixty-three men with twelve women and forty-two children under the superintendency of Sergeant Porter at Auckland, and forty-four men with three women and eleven children under the superintendency of Corporal Jacob at Ely. It is difficult to imagine by what train of reasoning any one could suppose that such villages would prove a success. For the first year indeed, while free rations were served out, there was no sign of failure, but as soon as the issue of food ceased a falling off in the number of the residents commenced. Some of the men set to work with a will, but most of them were unfit to gain a living as independent landowners, and the absence of women was of itself fatal to the scheme.

To garrison the whole of South Africa three thousand eight hundred and eighty European troops were now regarded as sufficient, to which force must be added the Cape corps composed of Hottentot soldiers with English officers, eight hundred and twenty-four strong. And in British Kaffraria alone there were some ninety thousand Xosas, of whom fifteen thousand at least were warriors, only waiting for a favourable opportunity to take up arms again, regarding the existing condition of things merely as a truce.

All looked peaceful, however, and Colonel Mackinnon reported from King-Williamstown at the close of 1848 that the Kaffirs were contented, the colonists were enjoying security, agriculture and industry were making progress among the natives,

the British population was on the increase, order was maintained among the people at little cost, and finally the Kaffrarian province was no burden to the colony in a financial point of view.

The missionaries had returned, and were rebuilding stations on ground held from the Queen, and traders were again numerous, though they had to pay \$240 a year for a license and were not permitted to sell munitions of war or spirituous liquors. On the 7th of October, 1848, there was a conference in King-Williamstown between Sir Harry Smith and the chiefs and leading people of the province, when none but the most loyal expressions were heard. Bishop Grey, who accompanied the governor, laid the foundation-stone of the beautiful edifice now known as Trinity Church, and Sir Harry laid the foundation of the Wesleyan Church in Berkeley Street. Kreli, who arrived from beyond the Kei on the following day, just after His Excellency left on his return to Capetown, galloped five miles till he overtook the governor, with whom he had a very friendly interview.

This placid appearance was maintained by the Xosas until the year 1850 was well advanced, when marks of approaching trouble began to be observed. The whole of the Kaffir servants in the colony were then returning to their clans at the bidding of their chiefs, and a medicine man named Umlanjani was busy preparing the people for war. From all quarters young men were going to him to obtain charms to make them invulnerable by bullets. These occurrences were reported to the governor, who understood at once what they meant, but thought he could put things right by his presence in Kaffraria.

Accordingly he proceeded by sea from Simons-

town to East London, and sent an invitation to the chiefs to meet him on the 26th of October at King-Williamstown. On the day appointed not a single Gaika chief of any importance was present, and many of the others also failed to attend. Sandile stated afterwards that he feared he would be made a prisoner if he met the governor, but this was a mere attempt to furnish an excuse. At the time appointed for the meeting only a few captains of inferior rank made their appearance, with petty bands of attendants, three hundred and forty individuals in all. This course of conduct was naturally regarded as equivalent to a direct defiance of the government. Sir Harry, however, still believed that he could intimidate the Xosas, and with this object on the 30th of October he issued a proclamation deposing Sandile from his position as head of the Gaika clans and appointing Mr. Charles Brownlee in his stead. Then, as no rising actually took place, the governor, after making a few trifling arrangements for the conduct of affairs, returned to Capetown.

The deposition of Sandile and his replacement by a European had not the slightest effect upon a single Kaffir. Mr. Brownlee was born and brought up among them, being a son of the first missionary of the London Society who settled in Kaffraria, he was as conversant with their language as with English or Dutch, and as his mother was a Dutch colonial woman he had equal sympathy with the three nationalities in the country. He was also an able and high-minded man, and, what was of great importance from a Kaffir point of view, large in person and an athlete in strength. There was at the time no other man in South Africa so well fitted in every essential respect for the position assigned to him. But,

though a European may acquire enormous influence with Bantu, he never can replace a chief, and that for the simple reason that he cannot occupy the position in their religion that the hereditary ruler holds, for he is not the descendant and representative of the object of their worship. And so Mr. Brownlee could do nothing to bring the Xosas to a different frame of mind.

The governor was hardly at work again in his office in Capetown when despatches of an alarming nature from Kaffraria reached him. Umlanjeni was busier than ever distributing charms and using incantations to prepare the warriors for battle, and the people generally were assuming a defiant tone. Back to King-Williamstown went Sir Harry at full speed, and at once sent a strong force of soldiers and Kaffir police to arrest Sandile, whose great place or principal kraal was then at Rabula, a charming locality amidst magnificent scenery at the foot of the Amatola range. On the way the expedition was obliged to go through a narrow gorge between precipitous hills called the Boomah Pass, and was there attacked by thousands of Kaffirs. It fought its way through indeed, but with the loss of twenty-three men killed and as many wounded, and was unable to reach its destination. So commenced the eighth Kaffir war, which was beyond comparison more serious than any of the preceding struggles with the Xosas.

A few hours after the engagement at the Boomah Pass a patrol of fifteen soldiers was encountered by some of Sandile's people, when all were killed. On the following day—Christmas, 1850—the military villages in the Tyumie valley were wiped out of existence. Ely had already been abandoned for some time by the settlers, but at Auckland, Woburn,

and Johannesburg the married men and some others still remained. The Kaffirs now came down upon them and murdered forty-six men in cold blood, burned the houses, and utterly destroyed all other property. A few men from Johannesburg managed to escape to Fort Hare, close to the village of Alice, and the women and children, after being stripped of clothing, were allowed to go there also.

Then followed, what had always been feared by the colonists, the union of the Kaffir police with their own people. These men took their arms with them, and as they had been trained to use muskets and had an intimate acquaintance with the military posts, they added considerably to the fighting power of the enemy. The Hottentots of the London Society's mission station Theopolis and of the Kat River Settlement also joined the Kaffirs, as the colonists had predicted they would some day, though they had no serious grievance against the white people. They placed themselves under the leadership of a man named Willem Uithaolder, and vowed their intention of becoming an independent community. At Theopolis especially some of the massacres of Fingos and other atrocities committed by the rebel Hottentots almost equalled the actions of tigers. These were joined by a great part of the Cape corps, trained Hottentot soldiers, who deserted with their arms and equipments. The Tembu tribe too joined the Xosas, so that the hostile combination was exceedingly formidable.

Kaffir wars are alike in this respect, that at their commencement the colony has always been unprepared and the military force on the frontier so small that the most it could do was to hold the principal forts until the arrival of reinforcements. Even in



1850 at least four months were needed to obtain troops from England, and the burghers from the western districts could not assemble and march to the front in a shorter time than four or five weeks. During this interval the eastern districts have always been open to invasion, and very large areas have been laid waste. Men considered themselves fortunate if they could get their families to a town or a lager where life would be safe, and their houses were burned and their cattle swept off by the barbarian hordes who rushed into the colony in search of plunder.

It was so on this occasion, but as the whole force of the country was called to arms and hurried to the scene of hostilities the marauders were soon obliged to retire. Then troops came from England, and a harassing guerilla war was carried on during the whole of 1851 and part of 1852. The same thickets had to be cleared over and over again, for as soon as the troops or burghers retired from any position the Kaffirs doubled upon them and returned to their former haunts. In the comparatively open country occupied by the Tembus military operations were much easier than along the Amatola range, and thus the enemy there was effectually subdued, but the Xosas were never really conquered, and it was only the complete want of provisions that caused them at length to beg for another truce, or peace as the Europeans termed it.

It was during this war that the world-renowned heroism of the troops on board the *Birkenhead* was shown. The ship struck on a rock off Danger Point when on her way eastward with reinforcements from Capetown, and it was apparent to every one that she would soon go to pieces. The boats were got out,

but could contain only a very small proportion of the people on board. Then the soldiers were drawn up on deck while the women and children were sent away, no one striving to take their place, and only when that was done, as the wreck was breaking into fragments, those on board threw themselves into the sea, where sharks were swarming, and tried to reach the land. A few succeeded, but four hundred of Britain's bravest were seen no more.

The war in Kaffraria had very important effects in the Orange River Sovereignty. Boundary beacons had been set up to mark the locations belonging to the various chiefs, which were the grounds actually occupied at the time by their people; but Moshesh was not satisfied with this. He wanted plenty of room for expansion, and desired to retain as much as possible of what Sir George Napier had given him and Sir Harry Smith was depriving him of. With the British authorities he did not want open war,—for reasons which will hereafter be stated,—even though he knew well that Sir Harry Smith needed every soldier under his command in Kaffraria, and could spare none to fight against him. He therefore tried to destroy the Sovereignty government by indirect means.

One of his captains, whose actions he could afterwards either acknowledge or disown at his pleasure, was directed to make an attack upon a neighbouring clan. This was done, with the expected result, that the chief assailed appealed to Major Warden at Bloemfontein for protection. Tedious negotiations followed, and the case became complicated by other chiefs being brought into the quarrel and by attacks and counter attacks among the clans along the Caledon, until Major Warden, believing that the matter

could only be settled by arms, and never dreaming that the fair-spoken Moshesh was as powerful as he afterwards proved to be, called out the whole military, burgher, and native force at his disposal.

On the 30th of June, 1851, by the British Resident's direction Major Donovan at the head of this force attacked the mischief-maker Molitsane at Viervoet, and was drawn into a trap where he met with a crushing defeat from a powerful Basuto army. It was with the greatest difficulty that he made his escape with part of his force, leaving behind several hundred dead and wounded, chiefly of the Barolong contingent. He fell back to Bloemfontein, and from that moment all was chaos in the Sovereignty.

The clans that had obeyed Major Warden's call to arms were thrown upon him for protection, and had to remove to the neighbourhood of Bloemfontein, when the Basuto took possession of their locations. The farmers who had taken part in the expedition were marked by Moshesh's captains for plunder, and an offer was made to all others that if they would disown the British authority and remain quiet no harm would be done to them. Sir Harry Smith directed the Resident to act only on the defensive until a strong body of troops could be spared to aid him, and from Natal a couple of hundred soldiers and about six hundred blacks were sent to his support in the meantime. The blacks, however, regarded the occasion as a favourable one for plunder, and without sparing either friend or foe they took what they could and returned to their homes with the spoil.

A considerable number of Englishmen had moved into the Sovereignty after the battle of Boomplaats had apparently secured it for ever to the British crown, and these with many of the best of the Dutch

farmers remained faithful to the government, though sorely harassed by the Basuto on account of their doing so. But the attachment of the other Dutch farmers was unequal to the strain put upon it, and among those in the northern part of the territory a desire for an independent republic was again showing itself. On the 25th of August one hundred and thirty-seven men at Winburg signed an application to Commandant Pretorius to come from beyond the Vaal and place himself at their head, and Moshesh joined in the request.

Then a deputation proceeded openly to Thaba Bosigo, and on the 3rd of September entered into a formal agreement of peace and friendship with the Basuto chief, his sons, and his people, an agreement that was afterwards faithfully kept on both sides. Major Warden had next the mortification of receiving a letter from Mr. Pretorius,—for whose apprehension the sum of \$9,600 was still offered,—announcing an intended visit to the Sovereignty to devise measures for the prevention of its ruin. A little later this letter was followed by another from the same hand, stating that the emigrants north of the Vaal were desirous of entering into a lasting treaty of peace with the British government, and that the writer with two others had been deputed to negotiate it.

Major Warden now reported to the high commissioner that the fate of the Sovereignty depended upon the movements of a proscribed man. He managed, however, to stave off Mr. Pretorius' visit by diplomatic correspondence until the receipt of Sir Harry Smith's reply, which was that two assistant commissioners, Major W. S. Hogg and Mr. C. Mestyn Owen, had recently been appointed with large

powers, and would proceed to the Sovereignty with as little delay as possible for the purpose of arranging matters.

These gentlemen reached Bloemfontein on the 27th of November, and at once entered into correspondence with Mr. Pretorius, which ended in an arrangement for a conference at a farm on the Sand River on the 16th of January, 1852. They were prepared to acknowledge the independence of the farmers beyond the Vaal, as British authority had never been established there, and the imperial government had resolved in the most decided manner not to permit any further extension of the Queen's dominions in South Africa. The benefits that would arise from this acknowledgment were in their opinion considerable.

1. It was the only way to secure the friendship of the Transvaal farmers.

2. It would detach them from the disaffected farmers in the Sovereignty.

3. It would prevent their alliance with Moshesh, which that chief was seeking.

4. The Transvaal farmers of their own free will offered to bind themselves to certain conditions, such as the prohibition of slavery and the delivery of criminals, which otherwise could not be enforced.

At the conference about three hundred Transvaal farmers were present, besides sixteen delegates who had been appointed to conduct the negotiations. On the first day the terms were arranged, and on the second—the 17th of January, 1852,—the document ever since known as the Sand River Convention was signed, in which the assistant commissioners guaranteed in the fullest manner, on the part of the British government, to the emigrant farmers beyond

the Vaal River the right to manage their own affairs and to govern themselves according to their own laws, without interference. There were also clauses concerning the prohibition of slavery, the extradition of criminals, the right of purchasing arms and ammunition in the British colonies, and other matters of less importance. The farmers were left at perfect liberty to fix their northern, western, and eastern boundaries wherever they chose.

The convention was approved on behalf of the British government by Sir John Pakington, secretary of state for the colonies, on the 24th of June, 1852, and was received with the deepest feelings of satisfaction by the Europeans in the Transvaal territory, who consisted then of about five thousand families.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

## THE ABANDONMENT OF THE ORANGE RIVER SOVEREIGNTY.

FOLLOWING the established rule that a governor in whose term of office a war breaks out must be recalled, on the 31st of March, 1852, Sir George Cathcart took the place of Sir Harry Smith. The victor of Aliwal, the ardent imperialist as he would be called to-day, the man of untiring energy, returned out of favour to his native country, because he had not preserved order and prevented war in South Africa with a military force of less than four thousand men, a thing that was impossible.

Sir George Cathcart had little more to do in British Kaffraria and in the Tembu country than to arrange conditions of peace. The Xosas pretended to be submissive, because their supplies of food were exhausted and they wanted to make gardens; the Tembus were really submissive, because they had been thoroughly beaten; many of the rebel Hottentots had been killed in the struggle, the others with few exceptions were prisoners, and Willem Uithaalder was a fugitive beyond the Kei, where soon afterwards in utter despair he committed suicide.

Bands of Fingos, who had fought well on the British side, were now located along the Amatola range, to secure the fastnesses there, and the Gaikas were settled on more open ground. The Tembus west of the upper Kei were collected together and located

in the district known ever since as Glen Grey, besides which they had all the ground between the Bashee and Umtata rivers to retire to if they chose. The territory of which they were deprived was added to the Cape Colony, and as great care was taken to approve only of suitable men, the very flower of the colony, English and Dutch, settled there, and the district soon became one of the most flourishing in the country. In an excellent position a town was laid out, and a civil commissioner and resident magistrate was stationed in it. All colonial towns founded by the Dutch have their main streets running in parallel lines, with cross streets at right angles, but Queens-town, being laid out by a military man with a view to defence, has its streets radiating from an open space in the centre. Its growth was so rapid, however, that it was soon beyond fear of an attack by natives, and no trouble has ever since arisen in its neighbourhood.

Sir George Cathcart enrolled a body of men admirably adapted for the preservation of order in Kaffraria. It consisted of young colonists accustomed to ride and to shoot, who were well paid, but who were required to maintain themselves and to purchase their own horses and weapons. There was not a finer body of light cavalry in the world than this, the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police as it was at first termed, now the Cape Mounted Rifles. With Fingo detectives attached to it, it was able to do more towards suppressing stock thefts than ten times the same number of regular soldiers could have done, and as a military force of great mobility it could suppress disturbances anywhere on the border as soon as they arose. Under Sir Walter Currie, its first commander, and Colonel Bowker, who suc-



ceeded him, this force acquired a very high reputation for usefulness, which it has retained to the present day. Its cost was borne for a short time by the imperial treasury, but was soon transferred to the colonial government, which thus took upon itself a considerable portion of the burden of defence against its barbarian neighbours.

It can only be attributed to hereditary views that this serviceable regiment has never been popular with the Dutch farmers in the Cape Colony. Not only has it been recruited almost entirely from the British and German youth, but its existence even is not generally favoured by the country people away from the frontier. Their ideas are that the burghers in person should compose the military force of the country, and they look with suspicion upon regular paid troops and even upon volunteer corps as the possible instruments of tyranny. The experience of forty-eight years to the contrary has not been sufficient to eradicate this idea, or to convince the farmers that it is cheaper and better to pay taxes to provide a first line of defence than to pay less and be liable at any time to be called out to fight themselves.

As soon as his arrangements in the colony and British Kaffraria were completed Sir George Cathcart set out with what he and every one else believed to be an ample force for the settlement of affairs in the Orange River Sovereignty. The assistant commissioners Hogg and Owen had meantime been doing all they could to allay the disturbances along the Caledon, but in vain. They had offered Moshesh to abandon all claim to interference in purely native disputes, to enlarge his territory considerably on the south, and practically to allow him to

incorporate the little clans on the border, if he would only agree to respect the outer line between Europeans and Bantu and cease to plunder the farmers. The chief accepted all they offered with many thanks, and talked much of his strong desire for peace, but did nothing to put an end to the depredations. The farmers who were most disaffected to British rule and who had been in close alliance with him had moved over the Vaal after the signing of the Sand River Convention, so that the whole Sovereignty was open to his bands of raiders.

A legislative council consisting of nominee members had for some time existed in the Sovereignty, but as the imperial government was desirous of ascertaining whether the inhabitants were willing to submit to British authority, as otherwise they had resolved to abandon the country, Mr. Owen—Major Hogg having died suddenly—was instructed to convene an assembly elected on the principle of manhood suffrage to determine this question. On the 21st of June, 1852, seventy-nine representatives so elected met in Bloemfontein. They decided almost without a dissentient voice in favour of the retention of British authority, but desired to have an elective legislative assembly and to be assisted in protecting themselves against Moshesh. In July Major Warden was superseded as British Resident by Mr. Henry Green, when an executive council of five members nominated by the high commissioner, with the Resident as chairman, was appointed.

In November, 1852, Sir George Cathcart crossed the Orange at the Bethulie ford, and marched along the right bank of the Caledon to the Wesleyan mission station Platberg, where he formed a camp. On the march he sent invitations to Moshesh and the other

chiefs to meet him on the 13th of December, and appointed a commission to examine into and report upon the boundary lines and the number of cattle stolen by the Basuto. None of the chiefs appeared at the time appointed, but Moshesh sent two of his sons to hear what the governor had to say.

The report of the commission was then considered, and on the 14th Mr. Owen was sent to Thaba Bosigo with the governor's ultimatum demanding the delivery within three days of ten thousand head of full-grown cattle and one thousand horses, with a promise of compensation to the petty clans for the damage done to them, observance of the boundaries fixed by Sir Harry Smith, peace with all the neighbouring people, and the cessation by the Basuto of being a nation of thieves.

Moshesh was now placed in a position of great difficulty. His tribe would not comply with the governor's demands, and he was afraid of war. Perhaps he did not realise his own strength, for he had been as much astonished as pleased with the result of the engagement at Viervoet. At any rate he of all the rulers in South Africa could least afford to risk a defeat. His tribe was not yet thoroughly cemented together, he had no hereditary claim to the allegiance of a single clan in it, for his own father and senior members of his family were still alive, and a single adverse blow would shatter the power he had so carefully built up. He therefore attempted to compromise. On the following day he visited the British camp, and talked much of the blessings of peace, stated that the collection of so many cattle was impossible in so short a time, and hinted in figurative language that an attempt to seize them would be resisted. The governor, however, would abate nothing

of his demand, and would only extend the time by one day. On the 18th the chief sent in three thousand five hundred head of cattle, in hope that they would be received in satisfaction of the claim, but was disappointed.

At daybreak in the morning of the 20th of December, 1852, the British forces crossed the Caledon at the ford ever since known as Cathcart's drift, and in three divisions, altogether about a thousand and fifty picked men, marched towards Thaba Bosigo. A strong guard was left at the camp, with a body of troops to act as a reserve if needed. The officers and men alike were light-hearted, for they held the Basuto power in contempt, and believed themselves to be irresistible. But one of the divisions in the course of the morning was drawn into an ambuscade on the Berea mountain, and while some of the men were securing a herd of four thousand cattle, the others were attacked and driven back with a loss of thirty-two men killed. The whole division must have perished if relief had not been sent to it from the camp.

Another division was attacked on the march, but fought its way onward, and towards evening reached the foot of Thaba Bosigo with a loss of six men killed and seven wounded. The third division, under Sir George Cathcart in person, arrived there a little earlier without loss, and found itself in front of six thousand well armed Basuto horsemen, with whom until dark it fought without success on either side. Two officers and six soldiers were wounded in this engagement. The British general took up a strong defensive position for the night, and at daybreak on the following morning set out to return to his camp. Such was the battle of Berea, where Sir

George Cathcart was said to have put his hand into a scorpion's hole and drawn it back on being stung.

Moshesh now acted in a manner that shows him to have been a man of exceeding wisdom. A letter to the British general was written in his name, probably dictated by the Reverend Mr. Casalis, but certainly with the chief's full approbation, in which he stated that he had been chastised, that many cattle had been taken from him, and that he begged for peace and would try all he could to keep his people in order in the future. This letter was sent to the British camp at the same time that his messengers were leaving to convey to the native tribes far and near intelligence that he had won a great victory and driven the white invaders out of his country.

Sir George Cathcart eagerly availed himself of the opening of escape from a great difficulty which the chief's letter afforded. He had learned much in the previous twenty-four hours, and he knew that the British people would stand aghast at war with the powerful Basuto tribe. He therefore declared himself satisfied, and within three days broke up the camp at Platberg and set out on his return to the colony. His officers remonstrated, and spoke bitterly of the disgrace of retreat under such circumstances, but he was not to be moved in his resolution. The people of the Sovereignty were authorised to organise for their safety, and were then left to protect themselves as best they could from the victorious and exultant Basuto.

As soon as intelligence of what had occurred reached England the Duke of Newcastle announced that Her Majesty's government would withdraw from the Orange River Sovereignty, and on the 6th of April, 1853, Sir George Russell Clerk was ap-

pointed Special Commissioner to carry out this decision. He arrived at Bloemfontein on the 8th of August.

On the following day a notice was issued calling upon the inhabitants to elect delegates to arrange for their future government. While the elections were taking place the Special Commissioner gathered as much information as he could upon the condition of the country, both from official and private sources. He ascertained that there were then in the Sovereignty about fifteen thousand Europeans, young and old; that twelve hundred and sixty-five farms, containing eleven million acres of ground, had been given out; that the native reserves covered thirteen million acres, and that about eight million acres remained unappropriated. In Adam Kok's reserve between the Riet and Orange rivers Griqua proprietors in defiance of the regulations were always ready to sell ground to white men, and an important village—Fauresmith—had actually been established there. Being far from the Basuto border property was much more secure in that part of the territory than near the Caledon.

In the districts of Bloemfontein, Smithfield, Winburg, and Harrismith life and property were far from safe, in many parts armed bands of blacks wandered about at will, and raids and counter raids were perpetual among the clans along the Caledon. The government, with only a very few soldiers at its disposal, was powerless to maintain order.

On the 5th of September the elected representatives of the people, ninety-five in number, met in Bloemfontein. Seventy-six of them were Dutch South Africans and nineteen were Englishmen, which was the proportion of the two nationalities

in the country. Dr. Fraser was elected chairman, and business was taken in hand. It was at once evident that the assembly was opposed to the abandonment of the country by Great Britain, and after making this very clear during three days' discussion, a committee of twenty-five members was appointed to confer with the Special Commissioner, and the others returned to their homes.

After some correspondence with Sir George Clerk, the committee informed him that what they desired was an elective legislative assembly and to remain under Her Majesty's government. Finding further negotiation with them useless, the Special Commissioner then turned to other sources. With his approval Commandant Adriaan Stander, an ardent republican and noted opponent of British rule, came from beyond the Vaal and succeeded in rallying a number of farmers about him. Words have different meanings at different times, and now in the Special Commissioner's phraseology these persons were termed the well-disposed, while the elected representatives of the people, who desired the continuance of English rule, were designated obstructionists.

A historian should use calm language, but that need not prevent an expression of regret and shame that a great province should have been severed from the empire in the way in which the Orange River Sovereignty was abandoned. British policy enabled Moshesh to create the powerful tribe which was causing all the trouble, surely Britain should have kept the country and assisted to protect its people until they were strong enough to defend themselves. A thousand soldiers could not indeed penetrate the Lesuto or preserve order between the different sections of Bantu, but five hundred well-armed light

horsemen such as the Cape Frontier Police, with the burghers behind them in case of need, would have been ample to guard the European border and put a stop to the Basuto raids. To furnish these, however, was something which the British authorities of the day had no mind for, as in their opinion the empire had no interest in the interior of South Africa.

Through Commandant Stander's persuasion in a short time addresses with nine hundred and fifty-nine names attached to them, offering to take over the government on certain conditions, were presented to the Special Commissioner, and on the 19th of January, 1854, he issued a notice inviting those persons to send representatives to Bloemfontein on the 15th of February. The elected committee thereupon requested Dr. Fraser and the Reverend Andrew Murray,\* clergyman of the Dutch Church in Bloemfontein, to proceed without delay to England to lay their case before the imperial parliament, and to protest against the people of the Sovereignty being abandoned under the circumstances of the country.

\* Now, 1899, D.D., recognised throughout the English-speaking world as an exceptionally talented and earnest evangelical writer, a man who is held in the highest esteem throughout South Africa for his eminent services in connection with education as well as religion. He was the founder in 1874 of the Huguenot Seminary at Wellington in the Cape Colony, which has now branches in the Orange River Colony and in Natal, and in which many hundreds of farmers' daughters are receiving a thoroughly Christian and practical education. He also founded in 1882 at Wellington the Mission Training College of the Dutch Church, in which young men are prepared for work in the mission field. In both these institutions the principal teachers are Americans, and from America much pecuniary aid has been received. For more than a quarter of a century Dr. Murray was moderator of the synod of the Dutch Church in the Cape Colony. The numerous volumes from his pen were published first in Dutch and then in English translations.



On the 15th of February two assemblies of representatives met in Bloemfontein. The "obstructionist" committee had been reduced by defection and the absence of Dr. Fraser to thirteen members, but these were determined not to yield. Thereupon the Special Commissioner formally dissolved this body, and recommended its members to agree with those who were prepared to take over the government. Instead of this, however, they resorted to various wild schemes to stave off the threatened abandonment until the result of Messrs. Fraser and Murray's mission should be known, but without success.

The "well-disposed" assembly elected Mr. Josias Philip Hoffman as chairman, and proceeded to negotiate with the Special Commissioner. Money was freely used to allay opposition, over \$230,000 being expended by Sir George Clerk under the name of compensation for losses and arrear salaries. During eight days the arrangements were discussed and settled, and then, on the 23rd of February, 1854, a convention was signed, in the little room that now forms the vestibule of the museum in Bloemfontein, by Sir George Russell Clerk, as Her Majesty's Special Commissioner, and the twenty-four members of the assembly, in which the future independence of the country and its government was guaranteed by Great Britain.

On the 11th of March the flag of England was lowered at the fort, and immediately afterwards the Special Commissioner with his attendants, the few soldiers in the country, and the British officials left Bloemfontein for Capetown.

About the same time Messrs. Fraser and Murray reached England. There they learned that on the 30th of January a royal proclamation had been is-

sued abandoning and renouncing all dominion and sovereignty over the Orange River territory. On the 16th of March they were admitted to an interview with the Duke of Newcastle, who informed them that it was too late to discuss the question. In his opinion the Queen's authority had been extended too far, it being impossible for England to supply troops to defend constantly advancing outposts, especially as Capetown and the port of Table Bay were all she really required in South Africa.

The delegates then tried to get the question discussed in the House of Commons. At their instance Mr. C. B. Adderley, on the 9th of May, moved an address to Her Majesty, praying that she would be pleased to reconsider the order in council renouncing sovereignty over the Orange River territory.

A few members spoke on the government side, among them being the attorney-general. All of them regarded the abandonment as expedient and perfectly legal. Sir John Pakington and Sir Frederick Thesiger thought it would have been better if the legislature had been consulted, but concurred in the expediency of the measure. Being without a single supporter, Mr. Adderley then withdrew his motion.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

GRANT OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT TO THE  
CAPE COLONY.

WE have now to turn over a different leaf in the history of South Africa, and instead of the misrule of men living more than six thousand miles away whose intentions indeed were just and benevolent, but whose want of practical knowledge of the conditions of the country and its people necessarily resulted in blunder after blunder, we shall see a well-governed community, attached to the parent state, because permitted to work out its destinies in its own way, while protected from foreign foes. Self-government by the great colonies is what really binds the magnificent British empire together and makes it one. The sympathies of blood are strong, and in the middle of the nineteenth century about two-fifths of the white inhabitants of the Cape Colony were of British birth or descent, but blood alone failed to keep the Central North Americans under the English crown. To make a perfectly loyal people in a distant possession freedom and interest must combine with sentiment: at the Cape the three forces could be united as regards a large proportion of the white people, and as to the Dutch farmers, given freedom and interest, sentiment might be depended upon to spring up in course of time.

Over and over again the colonists had petitioned for representative government. Some of these

petitions have already been mentioned, but perhaps the most urgent were those forwarded through Sir George Napier to the Queen in council on the 20th of December, 1841, at the time when the frontier people were suffering most acutely from Lord Glenelg's measures. That these prayers were not granted sooner was due to the fear that a representative assembly would be merely an arena of strife between Dutch and English, which could only have had bad effects upon both parties. The seventh Kaffir war, however, was so clearly due to a mistaken policy directed from Downing Street that any difficulties which might arise from friction between the two European nationalities in South Africa were lost sight of. That war had cost the colonists in destruction of property alone \$1,948,810, according to a careful official computation, and the military charges borne by the imperial treasury during its continuance were in round numbers \$5,000,000 above the ordinary cost of the South African garrison. To avoid such a burden again upon the British taxpayer was thus an incentive towards granting representative government to the Cape Colony. And lastly, there was a real honest desire to do justice by allowing the South Africans to participate in that liberty which British subjects elsewhere enjoyed.

Letters patent were therefore issued on the 23rd of May, 1850, providing for the creation of an elective council, over which the chief justice of the colony was to preside, and an elective assembly, the details to be filled in by the existing legislature at the Cape, subject to the approval of the Queen in council.

Owing to the anti-convict movement, as has previously been mentioned, five of the unofficial mem-

bers of the nominee council had resigned, and others to whom the seats were offered declined to accept them. On the 6th of May, 1850, Sir Harry Smith issued a notice requesting the municipal and divisional road boards throughout the colony to transmit to the secretary to government with the least possible delay the names of the five persons whom they wished to see filling the vacant seats. This was equivalent to an appeal to the country, but it was the only occasion on which the popular will was consulted before the elections to the first parliament, as the secretary of state disapproved of the proceeding.

From the nominations of the different boards, on the 23rd of July the governor appointed Mr. Christoffel J. Brand, who had twenty-five votes, Sir Andries Stockenstrom, who came next with twenty-three, Mr. Francis William Reitz, who followed with twenty-one, Mr. John Fairbairn, who had nineteen, and Mr. Robert Godlonton, who had three votes. Against the appointment of the last named gentleman a petition was sent in, on the ground that nine votes had been recorded for Mr. J. H. Wicht, seven for Mr. J. J. Meintjes, and four each for a number of others, whereas he had received only three. The governor announced that he could appoint any one he chose, and the attorney-general made known that he had advised the selection of Mr. Godlonton instead of Mr. Wicht, in order that the British settlers of 1820 might have two unofficial representatives, Mr. William Cock, who had not resigned his seat and who was therefore still a member, being the other.

On the 6th of September, 1850, the legislative council met. There were present the governor, Sir Harry Smith, who presided, the secretary to govern-

ment, Mr. John Montagu, the auditor-general, Mr. William Hope, the collector of customs, Mr. William Field, the treasurer-general, Mr. Harry Rivers, the attorney-general, Mr. William Porter, and the six unofficial members named above. After the formal opening the governor read a minute in which he informed the members that one of the principal objects for which they had been called together was to pass an ordinance or ordinances to form the basis of a new constitution for the government of the colony on liberal principles, with popular representation. The council then immediately went into committee to discuss the details of the proposed constitution.

Very soon it was evident that there were almost irreconcilable differences of opinion between the governor and four of the unofficial members—Sir Andries Stockenstrom and Messrs. Brand, Reitz, and Fairbairn—regarding the qualifications for a seat in the upper house and the length of the term for which its members should be elected. The governor desired the qualification to be the possession of unencumbered landed property to the value of \$9,600, and the length of the term to be ten years. The four members, who wanted a much more democratic council, declared they would regard a chamber so constituted as an oligarchy of the worst description. Thereupon the secretary to government gave it as his opinion that the official members were bound to vote in favour of any measure proposed by the governor, whether they approved of it or not, a statement which puts in a very clear light the value of a mixed official and nominee council. The four members were thus outvoted.

On the 20th of September some drafts of ordinances and the estimates for the ensuing year were brought

on by the government. The same four members objected to any other business being taken in hand until the constitution ordinances were completed, and upon a motion to proceed with the estimates being carried against them, they resigned their seats. On the 25th the governor appointed the five official members with Messrs. Godlonton and Cock a commission to proceed with the constitution, but as this could not be completed without a full council, a long delay was occasioned.

The municipality of Capetown now requested the four gentlemen who had resigned, together with Mr. Jan Hendrik Wicht, to draft a constitution according to their views, to be taken to England by Sir Andries Stockenstrom and Mr. Fairbairn. It was hoped that as they had received the highest number of votes from the municipal and road boards, they would be regarded by the secretary of state as the true representatives of the colonists, and the constitution framed by them as what was generally desired. It was further intended to circulate petitions to be signed in its support.

The principal differences between the document drawn up by these gentlemen and the constitution which afterwards received the approbation of Her Majesty's government were with respect to the legislative council, or upper chamber, which they desired to make more democratic in principle and less subject to the influence of the British settlers of Albany and the other eastern districts. They wished this branch of the legislature to consist of fifteen members elected for four years by the whole colony as one constituency, the elections to take place by means of written papers containing fifteen names. The qualifications for membership they desired to be the

attainment of thirty years of age, residence of three years in the colony, and the possession of property in land to the value of \$4,800. They wished this chamber to elect its own chairman or speaker.

The differences in the lower chamber, or house of assembly, which they desired were merely that the members should be elected for three years, that the governor should have no power to dissolve it without dissolving the legislative council at the same time, and that the voters' qualification for both houses should be occupation for twelve months of property valued at or above \$240. In principle a chamber so constituted would have been more democratic than the one afterwards established.

On the 26th of October Mr. Fairbairn left Cape-town for England with the draft of a constitution so framed and with numerous petitions in its favour. Sir Andries Stockenstrom was in delicate health, and therefore feared a European winter, so did not go. The mission, however, was unsuccessful, for the imperial authorities would make no alteration in the settled course of procedure.

The eighth Kaffir war caused further delay, but at length, on the 3rd of April, 1852, the ordinance required was completed, and with some few amendments by the imperial authorities, was confirmed by an order in council on the 11th of March, 1853. It provided for the creation of two chambers, termed the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly.

The legislative council was to consist of fifteen members elected for ten years, excepting that on the first occasion, or after a general dissolution of parliament, the eight members who should receive the least number of votes were to retire after five years, so that practically half the members should be chosen



at the end of every fifth year. The whole colony was to be divided into two constituencies, the eastern and the western, the former of which was to return seven, and the latter eight members. The electors, who were to be the same as those for the house of assembly, could distribute their votes as they chose, one to each of the number of representatives required, two or three to one and the remainder to another, or they could give all to one candidate if they so desired, thus providing for the representation of minorities. Of this chamber the chief justice of the colony was to be president, with the right of taking part in debates, but not of voting, unless the members were equally divided, when he was to have a casting voice. Five members were to form a quorum.

The qualifications of a member of the legislative council were to be those of a voter and the possession of land free of all encumbrances to the value of \$9,600 or of general property above all debts to the value of \$19,200, in addition to which he was required to be over thirty years of age.

The house of assembly was to consist of forty-six members, elected by twenty-two constituencies for a term of five years. These constituencies were the different divisions in which there were civil commissioners, except that the cities of Capetown and Grahamstown were to be represented separately from the other parts of the divisions in which they were situated. Capetown was to have four members, and the remainder of the Cape division two; Grahamstown was to have two members, and the remainder of the division of Albany two; and the divisions of Stellenbosch, Paarl, Malmesbury, Caledon, Clanwilliam, Worcester, Beaufort West, Swellendam, and George, forming with the Cape the western prov-

ince, and Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth, Somerset East, Graaff-Reinet, Fort Beaufort, Victoria East, Albert, Cradock, and Colesberg, forming with Albany the eastern province, each two. In the election of members for this chamber, only one vote could be given to each of two candidates, not two votes to one, except in the city of Capetown, where the four votes could be distributed as in elections for the legislative council. The members of the house of assembly were to elect one of their number as speaker, who was not to have a vote except in case of equal divisions, when he was to have a casting voice. Twelve members, exclusive of the speaker, were to form a quorum. For a seat in this chamber any voter who should receive a sufficient requisition could become a candidate.

The governor was to be at liberty to dissolve the two chambers together, or the house of assembly alone, but not the legislative council alone. Parliament was to be convened by the governor once every year, or oftener if he should consider a special session necessary, and in no case was a period of twelve months to elapse between the close of one session and the beginning of another.

The colonial secretary, the attorney-general, the treasurer-general, and the auditor-general, who held their appointments from the crown and were not responsible to parliament for their conduct, were to have the right of introducing measures in either house and of taking part in debates, but were not to have votes. Acts after being read three times and passed by both chambers were to be signed by the governor before becoming of force, and he could refer any of them for the approval of Her Majesty, to whom the power was reserved of disallowing all acts within two years after their reaching England.

The franchise was made exceedingly low, considering the great preponderance in the colony of semi-barbarians and people who had no conception of what representative government meant. No distinction between classes or creeds, between white men or blacks, was made; the Hottentot, or freed slave, or prize negro, or Kaffir clothed in nothing but a blanket, was to be as free to go to the poll as the astronomer-royal or the richest merchant in Capetown, provided he was a subject of Her Majesty, twenty-one years of age, an owner or an occupant for a year of a house or land worth \$120, or—to meet the case of Kaffirs—a joint occupant with others of land which if the value were divided among them would yield \$120 for each, or who had been for twelve months in receipt of a salary at the rate of \$240 per annum or \$120 per annum with board and lodging. That was all. No education was needed, for the voting was to be by word of mouth. Any one who had sufficient property in two divisions, or who had land in one division and drew a salary in another, was to have the right of voting in both for members of the house of assembly, but not of the legislative council.

A fresh registration of qualified voters was to be made in each division every alternate year, to be used at the polls for the identification of voters.

This was the system of representative government introduced to the great satisfaction of the colonists. It seems imperfect now when it is compared with the system of the present day, but it was an almost incalculable improvement upon the mixed official and nominee council which preceded it. The first parliament met in Capetown on the 30th of June, 1854, the house of assembly in the banqueting hall of the

masonic lodge de Goede Hoop, and the legislative council in one of the rooms in the public offices that had in earlier times been the slave lodge of the Dutch East India Company. At last, two hundred and two years after its birth, the colony was on its feet and able to make rapid progress.

At this time there were about one hundred and forty thousand Europeans and two hundred and ten thousand coloured people of all kinds residing within its boundaries.

The public revenue in 1854 was \$1,419,850, made up of the following items: customs duties \$621,130, transfer duty \$211,795, stamps and licenses \$119,093, auction duty \$118,099, land revenue \$110,554, postage \$66,686, land sales \$59,045, and all other sources \$113,448.

The imports from abroad amounted in value to \$7,927,507, and the exports of produce, which included everything from the two republics as well as from the colony itself, were valued at \$3,161,822. The articles exported were: wool \$2,145,307, hides and skins \$245,568, wine \$193,344, copper ore \$120,269, grain \$98,333, horses \$74,275, ivory \$37,109, dried fish \$32,338, aloes \$29,779, ostrich feathers \$29,563, dried fruit \$25,243, salted beef \$22,954, argol \$13,958, horns \$10,473, all other articles \$83,309.

These figures, it will be seen, represent an amount of production and commerce very far short of those of the present day.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

## GROWTH OF THE CAPE COLONY FROM 1854 TO 1869.

As was seen in the last chapter, sheep's wool had risen to the first place among the colonial exports, and it was now steadily increasing in quantity. To improve the stock enterprising breeders were every year importing the very best rams that could be obtained in Europe, and some were occasionally brought from Australia. As far back as June, 1839, Captain George Robb, of the barque *Hamilton Ross*, brought to Capetown thirty Saxon rams from the celebrated flock of Mr. Edward Riley, of Raby, New South Wales, and they were generally regarded as the most suitable animals for the South African climate that had up to that date been introduced. The communication between Australia and the Cape was irregular, or the importations in later years would have been more frequent than they were. It is worthy of note that the first sheep in the island continent were taken there from South Africa, but at a time when our farmers were mostly indifferent about the production of wool.

Another industry which was destined to be of great importance to South Africa was at this time in its initial stage. Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson, a gentleman who was well acquainted with Asiatic Turkey, had come to reside at the Cape, and was impressed with the view that the country was eminently adapted for the production of mohair, the silk-

like fleece of the Angora goat. Accordingly he procured through agents, though with considerable difficulty and at great expense, a flock of thirty-nine of the valuable animals, which were sent through Constantinople to Egypt. From Egypt they were taken through Arabia and Persia to Bombay, and from that port shipped to the Cape. Twenty-seven of them died on the passage. In 1838 one she goat, eleven of the original males, and one male born on the way arrived, but to the great disappointment of their owner, the whole of the original males, though apparently perfect, had by some means been made useless for breeding purposes. The she goat too never bred after arrival. The male born on the passage, however, was purchased by Mr. Hendrik Vos, and by crossing with selected ordinary goats, and then with their offspring, in course of time a flock with fairly good fleeces was obtained.

A beginning having been made, some merchants in Port Elizabeth took the matter in hand, and managed to procure pure-bred goats occasionally, until the industry was thoroughly established and South Africa became, what it is to-day, the first mohair producing country in the world. The Angora goat, being a highly-bred animal, is far from hardy, and requires great care. It is not adapted to all parts of the country, but in some places it thrives well under good management, and brings in fair returns.

Among the articles of export mentioned was copper ore. As early as 1685 some of the copper mines of Namaqualand were visited by a Dutch governor of the Cape, but at that time it was not considered possible to convey the ore through that rugged and barren district to the sea. In 1837 Captain James Alexander, a British military officer who travelled through the

country from Capetown to Walfish Bay, sent some specimens of ore to Mr. George Thompson, a merchant in Capetown. They had been obtained on the southern bank of the Orange River, about eighty miles from the sea. The best of these specimens were assayed by Sir John Herschel, at Mr. Thompson's request, and were found to contain sixty-five per cent. of pure copper. The remaining specimens were taken to London by Mr. Samuel Bennett, and were submitted to an assayer in Hatton Garden, who certified that they contained a percentage of 27.875 pure copper. Mr. Bennett tried to form a company in England to work the mines, but did not succeed.

Soon afterwards, however, a number of merchants in Capetown and Port Elizabeth took the matter in hand, and several companies were formed for the purpose. Mining operations were commenced in several places, some of which were found not to answer expectation, and from all the difficulty of transport through a district so arid that oxen could not long exist in it was very great. Most of the companies, after losing a good deal of money, abandoned the enterprise, and in 1854 only two remained, Messrs. Philips and King, who had a very rich mine at Springbokfontein, and another firm, who had a valuable mine at Concordia. In 1852 the first ore—only eleven tons—was exported by Messrs. Philips and King.

Some years later this firm was merged into the Cape Copper Mining Company, and a new and extremely rich mine was opened at Ookiep, five miles from Springbokfontein. A railway with a gauge of only thirty inches and with a gradient in one place of one in thirty was constructed between 1869 and 1875 from Port Nolloth to Ookiep, a distance of

ninety miles, for the conveyance of the ore to the sea and of supplies inland. The other firm was merged into the Namaqualand Mining Company, and both are in existence and working profitably at the present day.

The opening of the copper mines had no effect whatever upon the people of the Cape Colony, who remained as purely an agricultural and pastoral a community as before. The white labour employed was obtained from Cornwall, and the district was as secluded, owing to its physical features and its barrenness, as if it had been an island. The mines indeed provided a small market for Cape produce, but that was sent by sea from Capetown to Hondeklip Bay or Port Nolloth, and the farmers came no closer in contact with the consumers than did the Malay fishermen on the south-western coast with the labourers on the sugar plantations of Mauritius for whose use they dried snoek and geelbek.

With the grant of a parliament the long line of military governors from Sir John Cradock to Sir George Cathcart ended, and in December, 1854, Sir George Grey, the ruler most widely esteemed by English, Dutch, and blacks alike, that the colony has ever had, arrived in Capetown. Since that date the governors have been civilians, though the commanders of the forces, who hold commissions as lieutenant-governors, act as administrators during temporary vacancies. Sir George Grey had been in South Africa once before, when sent by the imperial government to explore Western Australia, and in October, 1837, with his associate Lieutenant Lushington landed at Capetown on the way out. There he chartered the schooner *Lynher*, of 155 tons burden, to convey his expedition with cattle, stores, and



plants to Hanover Bay. Since that time he had been governor of South Australia and of New Zealand, and had proved his rare ability to deal with men, whether civilised, barbarian, or savage. He had the faculty of inspiring all classes of people with confidence, and the measures which he initiated for the benefit of the country have stood the best of all tests, that of time.

One of his first acts was to endeavour to make the chiefs in British Kaffraria satisfied with their position. He offered them pensions, payable monthly, in return for a formal surrender of the judicial authority which Sir Harry Smith and Sir George Cathcart had taken from them in name. They accepted the offer, and though the enmity of the Xosa leaders of that day to the white man's rule was not removed by it, the system has succeeded in many other instances, and as a measure of justice as well as of policy is continued still.

With funds provided by the imperial government he built a large hospital in King-Williamstown, in which sick natives were received, maintained, and treated by skilful medical practitioners free of charge, the object being to wean them from the belief in spells and witchcraft. Further he offered to subsidise missionary institutions that would undertake to train Bantu youth in industrial occupations and to fit them to act as interpreters, evangelists, and schoolmasters among their own people. The Free Church of Scotland and the Wesleyan Society favoured this idea, and at once began to carry it out. Then to teach the Kaffirs the use of money he employed as many as could be induced to work in making roads and building sea-walls at East London, paying them with the imperial funds at his disposal.

These excellent measures were frustrated for a time by the infatuation of the Xosas and their determination to renew the struggle for supremacy with the Europeans, as in their hearts they regarded the existing condition of things only as a truce. When, therefore, in 1856 a girl named Nongqause and a man named Umhlakaza announced that they were in communication with the spirit world and were instructed to tell the people to kill all their cattle and destroy their grain, after which fresh herds would rise from the ground in countless numbers, vast fields of maize and millet would spring up instantly fit for use, and all the heroes of the past return to life and assist them to drive the white people and the Fingos into the sea, the chiefs commanded that the directions of the spirits were to be obeyed.

From the Bashee to the Keiskama the slaughtering of cattle now commenced, first those of one colour, then after an interval those of another, but the work was carried out in such a bungling manner that some clans were destitute and starving while others still had full folds. The governor, who feared that the object was to precipitate the whole Xosa tribe in a famishing condition, but with arms in hand, upon the colony, sent agents among the people to dissuade them from their mad purpose, but in vain. Then he strengthened the military posts on the frontier, and collected in King-Williamstown all the grain he could get to save as many as possible of the deluded creatures from death.

Over two hundred thousand head of cattle were killed and all the corn was destroyed before the Xosas woke from their delusion. Then an attempt was made to rush into the colony, not as an armed body, but as suppliants begging for food. Tens

of thousands perished of hunger on the way. The district between the Bashee and the Kei was left without inhabitants, so that a few hundred of the frontier armed and mounted police could enter and hold it for years without molestation. Kreli, the head of the tribe, with a little band of followers took refuge with the Bomvana clan beyond the Bashee, who kindly gave him shelter and food. In British Kaffraria on the 1st of January, 1857, there were one hundred and five thousand Xosas, at the end of the year there were only thirty-eight thousand. Twenty-eight thousand eight hundred and ninety-two individuals were provided with food from the government stores in King-Williamstown and sent into the colony as servants, five or six thousand more reached Albany and Somerset without aid, the others who made up the deficiency perished.

By this tragic occurrence trouble with the Xosa tribe was averted for the next twenty years, and the frontier farmers were almost entirely relieved of the incessant depredations from which they had previously suffered. Not only so, but a large number of Europeans were settled in British Kaffraria. Farms were given out there by the high commissioner to selected English and Dutch colonists on the same terms as those under which the district of Queenstown was occupied. The German legion enrolled in the British service during the Crimean war was sent out and disbanded there, plots of ground being given to the officers and soldiers to be held under military tenure. These men, however, were not adapted for life as agriculturists, and on the outbreak of the mutiny in India Sir George Grey took upon himself the responsibility of enrolling most of them again and sending them to Hindostan. Those who remained

behind found their way into towns, where they became prosperous residents.

To take the place of those who went to India Sir George Grey arranged with a merchant in Hamburg to send out a number of families of agricultural labourers from Northern Germany, and in 1858 and 1859 over two thousand individuals of this class arrived, and had little farms assigned to them. These people, who were frugal, temperate, and industrious, prospered wonderfully in their new homes. Their well-tilled farms, their neat stone houses, their flocks and herds at this day testify to what can be done by the right kind of settlers in South Africa.

The great tract of land between the Kei and the Bashee remained without inhabitants. The imperial authorities were so averse to any extension of the Queen's dominions that they would not allow it to be annexed to British Kaffraria, and thus one of the fairest opportunities that have occurred for strengthening the English element in the country was lost for ever. Some years later Kreli was permitted to resume possession of a portion of it, another portion was given to the Fingos, whose old locations were already overcrowded, and the remainder was offered to the Tembus of Glen Grey in exchange for that district, which, being within the colony, could then, it was supposed, have been allotted to Europeans. The Tembus agreed to the proposal, and sent out a swarm to take possession of the new country, but so many remained behind that they retained Glen Grey as well, for it was not allowable to remove them by force. So all the territory east of the Kei was again occupied by Bantu independent of the British crown, and through the dispersion of the Xosas in the frontier districts of the colony that race

was mixed with the Europeans as far west as Port Elizabeth.

The white population of the colony was rapidly increasing, the censuses taken at various times showing that the Dutch farmers double their number in about twenty-four years by excess of births over deaths, and there was a constant, though small immigration from Europe. The blacks were also growing fast in number, though their rate of increase in the towns and villages, where they can obtain spirituous liquor and where they must conform in some respects to European customs, falls far short of that of the Bantu in locations and reserves. There, as the natives are prevented from destroying one another in war or on charges of dealing in witchcraft, as they are succoured in times of famine, allowed to live in their own way, and prohibited from obtaining strong drink, they multiply at a marvellous rate. Every female without exception is married at an early age, so that in no other part of the world is there anything like the increase of the Bantu under British or Dutch rule in South Africa.

In 1859 a beginning was made in the construction of railways in the colony, the first sod of the line from Capetown through Stellenbosch to Wellington, with a branch from Salt River to Wynberg, having been turned by Governor Sir George Grey on the 31st of March of that year. This line was constructed by a company with a guarantee from the public treasury of a certain rate of profit on the outlay, but the government had the right of taking it over under stipulated conditions, which it did in 1873, when the line began to be extended.

The first electric telegraphs—from Capetown to Simonstown and from King-Williamstown to East

London—were opened in 1860. They were constructed by the government, and were soon followed by other and longer lines.

The improvement of the harbours on the coast was commenced at the same time, the first truckload of stones for the great breakwater which has converted Table Bay from a place of wrecks to one of the safest ports in the empire having been tilted by His Royal Highness the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, then Prince Alfred, on the 17th of September, 1860. In Port Elizabeth and at East London harbour works were also taken in hand, but unfortunately the first plans were faulty, so that a good deal of money was thrown away. More lighthouses too were at this time erected along the coast.

The province of British Kaffraria remained separate from the Cape Colony until 1865. The laws were kept uniform, however, by the high commissioner proclaiming acts passed by the Cape parliament in force in Kaffraria. After the filling up of the territory between the Kei and the Bashee with Bantu the possibility of the province remaining a distinct dependency of the empire vanished, though before that date its inhabitants had hoped that the vacant ground would have been allotted to Europeans and united to theirs, to make a compact and self-supporting colony. There was no difference of any kind in the people between the Kei and the Keiskama and those between the Keiskama and the Gamtoos, so the imperial government, in order to be released from the necessity of making good any deficiency in the revenue and from responsibility for the defence of the little territory, desired its annexation to the old colony. On several occasions proposals to this effect were made to the Cape parlia-

ment, but were always rejected by a majority, because their acceptance would disturb the existing balance of parties by adding to the English element, and because of the liability for defence that would be incurred.

The imperial parliament then passed an act of union, which was not to come into operation, however, until the Cape parliament should have another opportunity of deciding the question. Upon this Sir Philip Wodehouse, who in January, 1862, had succeeded Sir George Grey as governor and high commissioner, convened a session in Grahamstown, where he could rely upon public opinion being favourable to the measure. On this occasion only has parliament met out of Capetown, and no little inconvenience was caused by holding a session at such a distance from the public records and offices. The governor, however, has power according to the constitution to summon it wherever he thinks fit.

There was much opposition to the proposed annexation, and the bill was only carried by including in it an increase to the existing electoral divisions. It provided that British Kaffraria should be incorporated with the Cape Colony as two divisions, King-Williamstown and East London, each to return two members to the house of assembly, and that in addition to these eight new divisions—Aliwal North, Queenstown, and Richmond, in the eastern province, and Namaqualand, Piquetberg, Riversdale, Oudtshoorn, and Victoria West, in the western province—should be created, each to return two members. Thus the balance of parties remained as before, though the house of assembly was made to consist of sixty-six members.

By the same act the number of members of the

legislative council was increased to twenty-one, eleven for the western province and ten for the eastern, which now included the divisions of King-Williamstown and East London. This act came into force in 1865.

Sir Philip Wodehouse was one of the least popular governors the colony had ever known. He had neither the attractive manner nor the breadth of view of his able predecessor, and his arbitrary conduct on more than one occasion gave much offence. During his tenure of office, which extended to November, 1868, nothing that needs further mention occurred in the colony, which, however, continued to grow steadily in population and commercial importance.



## CHAPTER XXX.

EVENTS IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE FROM 1854  
TO 1869.

THE great plain between the Orange and Vaal rivers that had been called the Orange River Sovereignty is nowhere capable of supporting a dense agricultural population. Its soil in most parts is shallow, and especially on the western side it is subject to long and severe droughts, when, unless water is conserved by artificial means, it is almost uninhabitable by man. It is adapted chiefly for pastoral pursuits, and its power of bearing stock must be calculated as what it can support when in its worst condition. Nature, however, has provided it with vegetation far better fitted to withstand drought than the grasses of Europe, so that with a supply of water in reservoirs, a considerable number of horned cattle, sheep, and goats can always exist on its pastures. In 1854 vast herds of antelopes of different kinds, but chiefly springbucks, wandered over it, and furnished the inhabitants with an abundant supply of animal food.

To the east of the plain rose the mountains of the Lesuto, or Basutoland, range after range from the base of the Maluti to the summit of the Drakensberg, eleven thousand feet above the level of the sea. Numberless fertile valleys, well watered by mountain storms and drained by rivulets coursing down to the Caledon, maintained in plenty the great tribe that

Moshesh had gathered together. In the summer their herds were driven high up on the terraces to feed, and from May to October, when the snow lay thick on the Maluti and the Drakensberg and piercing winds swept along the heights, the cattle were brought down to graze in the lower valleys that had shortly before been clothed with crops of millet and garden plants. The Lesuto was Switzerland in Africa, a grand natural fortress overlooking a vast expanse of plain.

Before the abandonment of the Sovereignty, even while the special commissioner was in Bloemfontein, Moshesh had conquered or driven out the whole of the clans along the upper Caledon, and had taken possession of the locations assigned to them by Sir Harry Smith. Only the Barolong under Moroko at Thaba Ntshu and a little band under Lepui at Bethulie, on the Orange, remained unsubdued, and these were living in close terms of friendship with the white people, to whom they looked for support. At this time Moshesh could bring about twelve warriors into the field against each European on the plain, and a large proportion of them were mounted and armed with muskets.

The committee to whom Sir George Clerk had transferred the government called upon the inhabitants to elect representatives to frame a constitution, and on the 28th of March, 1854, a volksraad of twenty-nine members met at Bloemfontein. There were parties among them, and under ordinary circumstances they would not have united, but the imminent danger in which they all stood acted as a welding force, so they resolved to form one state, with a volksraad for which a representative should be elected by the burghers of each village and each

fieldcornetcy for four years, except that half of those first returned were to retire in 1856, when their places were to be filled by others elected for the full term. The volksraad was to have supreme and sole legislative power, and no appointments to office could be made without its confirmation. The landdrosts and heads of departments were to have the right of debate, but not of voting, during its sessions.

The executive authority was to be entrusted to a president elected by the whole body of burghers from a list of names proposed by the volksraad. He was to hold office for five years, and was to be assisted by an executive council of two official and three unofficial members chosen by the volksraad. He was to propose laws, and to have a right of debate, but not a vote, much less a veto. Such was in brief the constitution of the new republic that took the name of the Orange Free State, and at a little later date hoisted its own independent flag, seven white and orange stripes with the red, white, and blue of the Netherlands in the upper corner next the staff.

Mr. Josias Philip Hoffman, whose principal qualification was his intimacy with Moshesh, was elected as the first president. He was of opinion that much could be done with the chief by means of persuasion, for who could talk so sensibly or expatiate so forcibly upon the blessings of peace as the great Mosuto? So the president went to see him, and Moshesh promised to exert himself to stop the cattle thieving then going on along his southern border. He wanted a small favour too, would his friend Hoffman make him a present of some gunpowder? On returning to Bloemfontein the president sent him a keg containing fifty pounds, and omitted to report the matter to the volksraad. It became known, however, and the

result was such an outcry that in February, 1855, Mr. Hoffman was compelled to resign.

Mr. Jacobus Nicolaas Boshof was then elected president. He was a man of good education, who had been trained in the civil service of the Cape Colony, and who in later years held a high appointment under the British crown in Natal, where the last years of his life were spent. To him the Free State is indebted for putting its public offices in thorough order and arranging the routine of business in accordance with the best system known elsewhere. This was no small service, and had it not been for the one great difficulty which overshadowed everything else, the liberal, courteous, and talented president would have made a model head of the state. But he was wanting in that determined perseverance under extreme difficulties which has always been a characteristic of the great majority of the sons of the sea beggars in South Africa, and in astuteness he was no match for Moshesh.

At this time thefts were taking place in the district of Smithfield to an alarming extent, Moshesh's object being to compel the farmers to retire, so that his tribe might have more territory to expand in. Sir George Grey saw that war was impending, and though Great Britain had abandoned the territory and disclaimed responsibility to preserve order there, if Moshesh should sweep the Free State and exterminate or drive out the white people, the effect upon the Cape Colony and especially upon Natal might be extremely disastrous. There was the question of humanity also to be considered, and the high-minded governor was strongly of opinion that the disgrace would be great if destruction were to be the natural sequence of abandonment.

So of his own accord in October, 1855, he visited the country and invited Mr. Boshof and Moshesh to meet him at Smithfield, where he would act as mutual friend. At the first conference the chief declined to discuss matters of business, but on the second day the governor succeeded in persuading him to affix his mark to an agreement which, if it had been faithfully kept, would have preserved peace and maintained the rights of both parties.

Out of respect for Sir George Grey Moshesh really kept to his engagement for a few weeks, but then the plundering was renewed on as extensive a scale as before. Sometimes the chief would stop it for a short interval, at other times he would make partial compensation, now he was profuse in promises, and again he would do nothing, playing like a cat with its victim, making the farmers feel how entirely they were at his mercy, and hoping by this treatment to cause them to remove in despair. At length, in February, 1858, armed bands of Basuto took forcible possession of several Free State farms and destroyed the buildings and orchards on them, and upon Moshesh being remonstrated with he would give no redress. The attempt to avoid an open rupture was then of necessity abandoned, the whole burgher force of the State was called to arms, and on the 19th of March a declaration of war with the Basuto was issued at Bloemfontein.

The plan of campaign adopted by the Free State was to send two commandos from different directions to meet at Thaba Bosigo and endeavour to carry that stronghold by storm. The first conflict took place at the French mission station Beersheba, where the men, on being called upon to surrender their arms, refused to do so, and were consequently fired upon

and driven away. Each commando then pursued its march, and met with resistance at every point where the ground was favourable for the enemy. Their losses were heavy, but they still pushed forward, the Basuto always yielding and retiring after a short encounter, so that they thought their progress was one of continuous triumph.

Too late they discovered that this was Moshesh's plan of drawing them on. They reached Thaba Bosigo to find an impregnable mountain fortress before them, and to learn that while they were fighting their way to it strong bands of Basuto horsemen had been laying waste the districts of Smithfield and Winburg, sweeping off the cattle and burning the houses with their contents. With heavy hearts the burghers retreated, the commandos were disbanded, and every man hastened to look for the helpless members of his family.

The Free State seemed utterly crushed. But Moshesh was too wise to push his advantage further, for he knew that if he did the burghers north of the Vaal would come to their kinsmen's aid. So he accepted the mediation of Sir George Grey, which President Boshof had asked for, and in the meantime agreed to an armistice.

Some little Korana clans living on reserves in the western part of the State regarded this as a favourable opportunity for securing plunder, and being joined by a branch of the Batlapin from the other side of the Vaal, commenced to steal cattle and kill white people without the slightest provocation. Some shocking acts of barbarity were committed by these savages. But a commando was got together, and terrible retaliation followed. Most of the Koranas were shot down in action or when their stronghold on the

Vaal was stormed, forty-two of them who were made prisoners and were being conveyed to Bloemfontein were murdered in cold blood by some masked farmers on the way, and then the hills in which the Batlapin were posted were cleared by a force from the northern State under Commandant Paul Kruger, when the head of the slain chief Gasibone was cut off and sent to one of his relatives who had assisted him. Such horrible deeds brought the infuriated white men for a time down to the level of the wretched savages they were destroying.

On the 20th of August Sir George Grey reached Bloemfontein and made arrangements for a meeting between commissioners of the Free State and Moshesh. There he received urgent despatches from England requiring him to send to India with the least possible delay every soldier that could be spared from South Africa. To bring about peace was therefore a matter of the first importance, as the tribes on the colonial border had already become restless owing to the success of the Basuto. From Bloemfontein he proceeded in great haste to Thaba Bosigo, and arranged with Moshesh to meet the Free State commissioners at Beersheba on the 15th of September, where both parties were to have their cases prepared to be laid before him.

The governor then galloped to King-Williamstown, issued directions for the despatch of the troops, and was back at Beersheba on the 14th of September. The Free State commissioners were there, but Moshesh was not, so the governor went in search of him. The chief was found at Morija, and a statement of his claims was obtained, which, if conceded, would have annihilated the infant republic. He was, however, induced to send plenipotentiaries to Aliwal

North, and there, after mature consideration, the governor gave his decision, which was embodied in a treaty and signed by both parties on the 29th of September. To the Basuto as victors was given a very considerable extension of territory on their southern border, from which the white occupants were to be withdrawn. The governor in person saw the new line beacons off, the farmers retired from within it, but Moshesh remained dissatisfied, and though on the 15th of October he confirmed the treaty and affixed his mark to it, he soon showed that he had no intention of observing it.

Finding the effort to check thefts by the Basuto along the new border hopeless, in February, 1859, Mr. Boshof lost heart and resigned. Mr. Esaias Rynier Snyman was appointed by the volksraad acting head of the State, which office he held until February, 1860, when Mr. Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, son of the famous commandant-general, was elected president. At this time several of the old native reserves in the western part of the territory and Bethulie, on the Orange River, were acquired by purchase. Their occupants moved away beyond the borders, and farmers from the colony took their places, so that the European power was considerably strengthened. Three new districts—Boshof, Kroonstad, and Bethulie—were created, to the great advantage of the administration.

Mr. Pretorius was elected president with the hope of bringing about some form of union with the republic north of the Vaal, as it was believed that the Free State could not stand alone against the Basuto tribe. Mr. Boshof, the volksraad, and a majority of the people had desired union with the Cape Colony under a federal government, and had urged that they



should be admitted again into the British empire in this manner and receive some little assistance towards protection. Sir George Grey had been warmly in favour of this scheme, and had brought it before the Cape parliament and the imperial government as offering enormous advantages for the security and prosperity of South Africa, but in England the proposal had been received with much disfavour.

In no way or form would the imperial authorities incur responsibility for anything that might take place north of the Orange. The able governor who had recommended federation was regarded as a dangerous man, and on the 4th of June, 1859, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, who was then the head of the colonial department, on that account recalled him. By the ministry which shortly afterwards came into office he was indeed reappointed, but was not permitted to bring forward federation proposals again. And so the people of the territory, indignant at the way in which they were treated by Great Britain, turned to the northern State in their distress.

Mr. Pretorius was at the same time president of the South African Republic, but had obtained six months' leave of absence from the volksraad at Pretoria. Negotiations for union or close alliance of some kind were then commenced between representatives of the two countries, but fell through, owing to information supplied by Sir George Grey, that if carried out the clauses in the conventions of Sand River and Bloemfontein disowning alliances with natives and providing for the supply of ammunition through colonial ports would not be considered as longer binding by Great Britain.

Mr. Pretorius then resigned as president of the northern republic, and exerted himself to the utmost

to bring about a better condition of affairs with Moshesh. Several meetings took place between him and the chief, at which the most friendly language was used on both sides, and arrangements were agreed upon for the suppression of thefts, but as Moshesh did not keep his promises, and the Europeans were too weak to compel him to do so, matters remained as they were.

The most important event of Mr. Pretorius's administration was the purchase of Adam Kok's reserve, which greatly improved the position of the Free State. In December, 1861, the captain sold his rights of every kind to the volksraad, and his people disposed of their farms to white men, mostly from the Cape Colony, after which the whole clan moved away to the unoccupied territory since termed Griqualand East, on the southern border of Natal, below the Drakensberg, which Sir George Grey had taken over from its nominal owner, the Pondo chief Faku, and offered to Kok. This made the Free State a compact European possession from the Orange to the Vaal. The territory acquired became the district of Philippolis, and with the recent creation of the district of Jacobsdal the number of landdrosts' courts in the State was now brought up to ten.

During the remainder of Mr. Pretorius's administration all possible efforts were made to come to terms with Moshesh. Parties of Basuto were openly taking forcible possession of ground far beyond their northern border as defined by Sir Harry Smith, until a strip of land there fifteen miles in width was completely abandoned by the white people. Great hunting parties rode very much farther, defying and insulting the farmers, even in some cases trampling down and destroying their gardens. At length Mo-

shesh was induced to say what boundary he would respect in that direction, but it was one that would give him nearly half the districts of Winburg and Harrismith, and include in the Lesuto about two hundred and fifty farms held under British titles.

Worn out with so much worry, added to severe domestic affliction and urgent invitations from the northern republic to return and resume the conduct of affairs there, in April, 1863, Mr. Pretorius resigned, when Mr. Jacobus Johannes Venter acted as head of the State until February, 1864. Advocate Jan Hendrik Brand, son of the speaker of the Cape house of assembly, an extremely able and prudent man, then became president.

Sir Philip Wodehouse had in the meantime succeeded Sir George Grey as governor of the Cape Colony and high commissioner. He came to South Africa prejudiced against the people north of the Orange, and never made any attempt to conceal his dislike of them and their institutions. In his addresses and his correspondence he always put the worst construction upon their conduct, so that in all probability he would have declined to assist them if it had not been that their destruction by Moshesh would have reacted disastrously upon the colony. The president and the volksraad implored him to come to their aid by acting as a mediator and laying down a boundary line on the north as Sir George Grey had done on the south.

It was with great difficulty that Moshesh could be induced to accept of intervention by the high commissioner, but at length he put his mark to a document to that effect, and in October, 1864, Sir Philip Wodehouse arrived at Jammerberg Drift on the Caledon, where, as previously arranged, the representatives

of the Free State and the Basuto chief and leading men were to lay their respective cases before him. A great number of interested persons on both sides were present.

The Free State case was that the boundary established by the British authorities in 1849 and confirmed by Moshesh himself in 1858 should be maintained. On their side of that line the ground had been absolutely waste and unoccupied when white men took possession of it, and Moshesh never could have recovered it from the Matabele.

Moshesh's case was that there had been a time before the wars of Tshaka when all the land from the Caledon to the Vaal was in possession of Bantu tribes, and the remnants of those tribes were now his subjects. He handed in a list of their titles, and asked that the ground which had once been theirs should be restored to them.

The governor considered the evidence on both sides, and then went over the ground and carefully examined its physical features. The result was that on the 28th of October, 1864, he announced his decision, which was in favour of the Free State and the maintenance of Sir Harry Smith's line with a slight modification in Moshesh's favour in one place.

Moshesh promised to comply with the governor's decision, and recall his people from the Free State side of the border, but he had no real intention of respecting the award. Matters were soon again as bad as ever. After fruitless negotiations, President Brand made a specific demand upon the chief, who took no notice of it, and so, as nothing else could be done, on the 9th of June, 1865, war with the Basuto was formally declared.

It is unnecessary to enter into the details of this

conflict, which commenced like the Xosa wars with the rush of large armed bodies into the State, the destruction of a great amount of property, and the surprise and death of nearly ninety individuals. Among these was a party of Transvaal travellers, near relatives of President Pretorius, and as Moshesh declined to surrender the men who murdered them, in September a strong force under Commandant General Paul Kruger arrived to take part in hostilities. The northern republic, however, was in such a condition at the time that its burghers were soon under the necessity of returning, and the Free State was left to its own resources.

The most strenuous exertions were made, and the war was carried into the Lesuto, where many strongholds were taken by storm and some large herds of cattle were captured. But Thaba Bosigo could not be scaled or its garrison starved out, though desperate efforts were made to get possession of it, in one of which the bravest and ablest commandant in the republic—Louw Wepener—was killed.

As time went on the Basuto losses became so great that dissensions arose in the tribe, and in March, 1866, Molapo, the second son of Moshesh, asked for peace and offered to surrender two thousand head of cattle and to become a Free State subject. His request was agreed to, and he paid the cattle and gave hostages for his good conduct. Moshesh and his great son Letsie, to gain time to gather their crops and make preparations for a renewal of the war, then offered to cede a large tract of land and to pay three thousand cattle in return for peace. These terms were gladly accepted, as the president and the burghers believed the offer was made in sincerity, and in April, 1866, a treaty to that effect was concluded.

The Basuto did not remove from the ground ceded, and when called upon to do so, requested rather to be received as Free State subjects. To this the volksraad would not at first consent, but at length it was agreed that Letsie and his clan should be taken over and permitted to remain where they were, that Moperi, Moshesh's brother, and his clan should be taken over and removed to another part of the State, and that the same course should be adopted with regard to several other chiefs. By this means the Basuto gained time to secure very large crops in 1867, and then, after the grain was safely stored in strongholds, the mask was thrown off. Only Moperi remained true to his word, and he and his people, who were located at Witsi's Hoek, took no part in the war that followed.

The murder of two white men, defiance of the Free State authorities, and open assertions by Moshesh that he would not abide by his agreement brought on hostilities in July, 1867. The finances of the republic were in a deplorable condition, the only currency consisted of government notes termed bluebacks, and poverty was visible everywhere; but the spirit of the burghers rose as high as ever it had done in the best of their Batavian or English ancestors in similar difficult circumstances. This war was to be the last, both sides recognised that, and both entered into it with a determination to succeed or perish.

For a short time no marked success was gained by either party, but when the first important stronghold was taken by the Free State forces disintegration of the Basuto tribe began to set in, and a large clan moved away over the mountains into the territory adjoining that occupied by Adam Kok. Then strong-

hold after stronghold fell, and of course the magazines of corn on them were lost to Moshesh's people, until only Thaba Bosigo remained and more than half the tribe was in danger of perishing from starvation.

Meantime Moshesh had been sending the most urgent entreaties to the high commissioner and to the government of Natal to be taken over with his tribe as British subjects, and Sir Philip Wodehouse had obtained the consent of the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, then secretary of state for the colonies, to receive them as such. It was the only way, Sir Philip said, of saving them from being precipitated upon other parts of South Africa as fugitives and vagrants. So on the 12th of March, 1868, he issued a proclamation declaring the Basuto tribe British subjects and their country British territory.

A strong body of the Cape frontier armed and mounted police under Sir Walter Currie was sent into the Lesuto, with instructions to resist the Free State forces if they did not cease hostilities. President Brand and the volksraad naturally protested against these acts in the strongest terms, but they were careful not to embroil themselves in further difficulties, and so made no more attacks. The Reverend Mr. Van de Wall and Mr. C. J. de Villiers were sent to England by the volksraad to remonstrate with the imperial government, but were referred back to the high commissioner, who, they were informed, was entrusted with the settlement of the question.

The Free State now recognised that it was entirely at the high commissioner's mercy, and after fruitless correspondence, on the 4th of February, 1869, a conference took place at Aliwal North between Sir Philip Wodehouse and President Brand assisted by

a deputation of four gentlemen appointed by the volksraad for the purpose. There, after a week's discussion of plans and proposals, on the 12th a convention was signed, by which the Caledon River, from its source to Jammerberg Drift, and thence a line practically the same as that of Sir Harry Smith eastward to Kornet Spruit, was agreed upon as the new boundary. Mr. James Henry Bowker was then stationed in the Lesuto as the high commissioner's agent, and a form of government for the tribe was inaugurated which left to the chiefs a great deal of their former power.

At this time the European population of the Free State consisted of about thirty-seven thousand souls. The war had almost exhausted the country, and not only the government but nearly every individual was deeply involved in debt. There was hardly a family that was not in mourning. But a strong national sentiment had been born, and henceforth men and women gloried in the name of Free Stater and were proud of the suffering they had endured together and the deeds they had accomplished against such tremendous odds. To this feeling resentment against Great Britain must be added, but this weakened as it became apparent that after all they had probably gained more by Sir Philip Wodehouse's act than if they had been left to govern the Basuto tribe and keep it in order.



## CHAPTER XXXI.

## EVENTS NORTH OF THE VAAL FROM 1852 TO 1860.

For many years after the Sand River convention was signed the history of the people north of the Vaal is little more than a narrative of feuds and of wars with natives. There were no educated men to conduct public affairs, consequently the offices, or what went by that name, never were in the same order as those in the Free State. The inhabitants were the least refined of all the Europeans in South Africa, men and women whose ancestors for many generations had been borderers accustomed to contend with Bushmen or Kaffirs for their existence. Added to this, the practical anarchy which prevailed attracted men of indifferent character, some of whom were fugitive criminals from the Cape Colony, so that outside of the illiterate but well-intentioned body of farmers there was a fringe of ruffianism, composed of the dregs of the whole country mixed with reckless characters of many European nationalities. Only a strong government could have rectified this condition of things, and there was really no proper government at all.

There was indeed a volksraad, but no administrative authorities except the four landdrosts of Potchefstroom, Lydenburg, Zoutpansberg, and Rustenburg, and there was no police. Party feeling, or rather rivalry between the commandants, was so strong that even union for military purposes was im-

possible. In January, 1851, the volksraad appointed four commandants-general equal in rank and independent of each other: Mr. W. F. Joubert for Lydenburg, Mr. J. A. Enslin for the western border, Mr. Hendrik Potgieter for Potchefstroom, Zoutpansberg, and Rustenburg, and Mr. Andries Pretorius for Potchefstroom and Rustenburg, each individual in these districts being left at liberty to choose which of the commandants he would serve under. Surely no other people in the world have ever tried to live under such rule or misrule as this. There was no public revenue to speak of, for no one cared to pay taxes. All was confusion, the only thing that kept the people together being the presence of the natives, who were increasing very rapidly in number.

The native question must be looked at from both sides. Did the ejection of the Matabele make the remnants of the old tribes subjects of the farmers or not? The farmers claimed that it did, the missionaries of the London Society and the stronger chiefs, especially after Moshesh's victories, maintained that it did not. Among the missionaries was one whose name as an explorer is world-famed, the Reverend Dr. Livingstone, who since 1845 had resided with the Bakwena chief Setyeli. There were many points of character common to Dr. Livingstone and the emigrant farmers, but each looked only at those in which they differed, consequently the feeling between them was one of antipathy. The farmers complained that the natives were being armed by English hunters and traders who entered the country by the line of mission stations among the Betshuana clans, and they tried to close that road. Dr. Livingstone announced his determination to keep it open. He termed it the English road, and claimed

absolute independence for the clans along it. Then he gave great offence by challenging Commandant Potgieter as a proof of relative civilisation to produce a class of white boys and girls who could read as well as the Bakwena children under his tuition.

A tract of land had been allotted by Commandant Potgieter to Setyeli on condition that he should not acquire any guns, horses, or waggons. No tax of any kind was imposed upon him, because his location was a long way from the nearest farms, and he was not regarded as a chief of much importance. Dr. Livingstone had induced him to move from the location to a place on the Kolobeng River forty miles farther westward, where he obtained ammunition and guns to arm his men.

There was a little band calling itself the Bakatla, under a chief named Moselele, living on the Marikwa among the farmers, and greatly addicted to cattle-lifting. It became necessary to call Moselele to account, upon which he fled with most of his adherents to Setyeli, who gave him shelter and refused to surrender him when called upon to do so.

In August, 1852, a strong burgher force marched to Kolobeng, where the Bakwena were found intrenched and their chief defiant. After waiting forty-eight hours, an attack was made, which was not entirely successful, but during the following night Setyeli and his warriors retired into the desert, leaving the women and children behind. Field-cornet Paul Kruger, who went out to reconnoitre in the morning, found the Bakwena positions abandoned.

Dr. Livingstone's house was at a distance of eight or nine miles from the scene of action, and was at the time unoccupied. A patrol that visited it a

couple of days later reported that it had been broken open before their arrival, and books and other property had been destroyed, but by whom this wanton damage was done remains to the present day doubtful. In an outbuilding some guns and gunsmith's tools were found, which were confiscated by the commando.

The expedition then returned, taking with it between two and three hundred of the women and children who had been abandoned by the warriors. There are circumstances in which this is justifiable or necessary, but where government is as weak as it was at that time among the emigrant farmers the practice is liable to lead to great abuses. Such captives, if not claimed by their friends, were presumed to be destitute, and were apprenticed to individuals for a term of years, when practically they had no safeguard against ill-treatment except the facility with which they could make their escape. This system, which was followed in most of the native wars of the northern republic at this period, gave rise to a charge against the farmers that they were practising slavery, but they have always maintained that the term is incorrect when applied to the condition of such native apprentices.

Another expedition in the same year was against the Bapedi tribe, which occupied a district that was a great natural fortress, and had now become so strong that its chief, Sekwati by name, thought he could pillage the white people in his neighbourhood at will. In August, 1852, this drew upon him a burgher force under Commandant Potgieter, who laid siege to a mountain stronghold on which the chief and many of his people were stationed. Sekwati was called upon to surrender his guns, but would

not do so, though from the want of water on his mountain a large proportion of the people with him perished of thirst. After maintaining the siege for twenty days the commando retired, without having brought the chief to submission, but having inflicted such punishment upon him that it was long before his people troubled the farmers again.

In May, 1853, the Reverend Dirk van der Hoff, the first clergyman who settled in the country north of the Vaal, arrived from Holland. Before this time services were held only at long intervals by clergymen who made visitation tours from Natal, the Cape Colony, or the Free State, so that for sixteen years the people had been almost without the ministrations of the Gospel. Yet their faith was not weakened in the slightest degree, for the Bible was in constant use in every household. It was the only book they had, and they clung to its teaching as they interpreted it.

At this time the territory between the Limpopo and Zambesi rivers was opened under certain restrictions to European hunters. Three brothers named Pieter Jacobus, Jan Abraham, and Frans Gerhard Joubert, uncles of the late General P. J. Joubert, taking their lives in their hands, proceeded to the kraal of Moselekatse, and to their great satisfaction were able to conclude an agreement of amity, which was afterwards faithfully observed on both sides. Proper precautions had, of course, to be used when entering the country, and the regulations laid down by the chief had to be strictly complied with, for anything like colonisation was prohibited. Thenceforth the ivory of Matabeleland found its way to the different villages of the republic, and with ostrich feathers and skins of wild ani-

mals constituted a medium of exchange for manufactured articles from abroad.

In 1853 the commandants-general Pretorius, Potgieter, and Enslin died. No successor to the last named was appointed, but the volksraad conferred upon Mr. Marthinus Wessel Pretorius and Mr. Pieter Potgieter the offices which their fathers had held. The discord between the different parties continued, or if anything grew more violent after this event, but the character of the people was such that neither life nor property was endangered by it.

In 1854 an event took place which was very severely commented upon in Europe. A party of elephant hunters, under the leadership of Hermanus Potgieter, a brother of the late commandant-general, arrived with their waggons at the kraal of the chief Makapan, at the place since known as Makapan's Poort. The party consisted of thirteen white men, with ten women and children, for hunters often took their families with them. Whether any provocation was given has never been correctly ascertained, but some time after their arrival Makapan's people fell upon them and murdered them all. Potgieter was skinned alive, and all the bodies were mutilated in a shocking manner, but whether this was done before or after death was never known. Immediately after the massacre Makapan's people were joined by six other clans, and commenced to pillage and lay waste the district of Zoutpansberg.

The farmers had barely time to construct lagers when their dwellings were in flames and their herds swept off, but two commandos, under Pieter Potgieter and Marthinus Pretorius, were quickly on the scene. The burghers became infuriated on seeing the mangled remains of the murdered people, and

determined to inflict a terrible punishment. Makapan with his retainers took shelter in an immense cavern, and after a fruitless attempt to get possession of it, followed by an effort to smoke the occupants out, the mouth was blocked up with brushwood and stones and a strong guard was set over it.

On the 6th of November Commandant Potgieter, when standing in front of the entrance, was shot dead by some one inside. Fieldcornet Paul Kruger carried the body away, and the investment continued. The surrounding country was scoured by Kruger and other officers until opposition ceased, and then, on the twenty-fifth day of the blockade, the cavern was entered. There was hardly any resistance, for most of the occupants had perished, but the overpowering stench prevented the burghers from exploring the recesses and passages that led away to unknown distances in all directions. It was supposed that nearly two thousand persons had perished of thirst, and about nine hundred had been killed outside, so that Makapan's clan was almost annihilated.

Mr. Stephanus Schoeman was appointed commandant-general in place of Mr. Potgieter, but his authority did not extend beyond the district of Zoutpansberg. In Potchefstroom and Rustenburg Mr. Pretorius alone was henceforth recognised.

Violent ecclesiastical dissension was now added to the political discord in the country. The chief question disputed was whether the church should be connected with the synod of the Cape Colony or not. This seems a trivial matter, but many of the burghers believed that their independence might be affected by it. They asserted that Sir Harry Smith had once said that if he could not conquer them with the

Sword he would do it with the Word, and they wished therefore to be as little connected with any institution in the Cape Colony as possible. A visit of the Reverend Messrs. Neethling and Louw, two clergymen who had been deputed by the Cape synod to visit the country and conduct services, was held by this party to be uncalled-for interference, as they had a minister of their own and had not asked for aid from outside.

On the 9th of April, 1844, a kind of constitution, consisting of thirty-three articles, had been adopted by Commandant Potgieter's adherents, and at a meeting of delegates from the different parties at Derde Poort on the 23rd of May, 1849, it was agreed that there should be a single volksraad, with these thirty-three articles as the fundamental law. In theory this arrangement still held good, but in practice each man accepted as much or as little of this constitution as pleased him.

The ecclesiastical dispute brought on a crisis. The adherents of Commandant-General Joubert, who were the residents of the district of Lydenburg, and the party of Commandant-General Schoeman, who occupied Zoutpansberg, declared for union with the Cape synod, and no change in the form of government; the adherents of Commandant-General Pretorius, who formed the great majority of the inhabitants of Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, and the new district of Pretoria—created in November, 1855,—declared for an independent church and a more compact form of government. In 1855 the volksraad met in session at Elands River, and a petition was presented asking for the appointment of a committee to draft a new constitution. The adherents of Mr. Pretorius being



in a majority, this was agreed to, and a committee of three members was appointed for the purpose, one of whom was Paul Kruger. In every important event in the history of the country this determined, courageous, and highly intelligent, but illiterate man was an actor, even to the framing of the constitution, though he was as ignorant of jurisprudence as a little child.

An educated Hollander named Jacobus Stuart, who was visiting the country in the interests of a trading association, was appointed secretary to the committee, and he drew up the resolutions of the members in correct language and arranged them in order. Then Mr. Pretorius made a tour through the districts of Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, and Pretoria, and submitted the draft to meetings of the burghers at all the centres of population. It was generally well received, so immediately afterwards a representative assembly of twenty-four members, one for each fieldcornetcy, was elected for the special purpose of adopting it with any modifications that might be considered advisable, and of appointing the officials that were to form the new executive branch of the government.

The assembly met at Potchefstroom on the 16th of December, 1856, and during a session of nearly three weeks made several changes in the original draft. As finally adopted, the constitution provided that legislative power should be vested in a volksraad to be elected by the burghers, and to meet in session at least once every year; that the executive authority should be entrusted to a president to be elected by the burghers; that there should be an executive council to assist the president; that there should be only one commandant-general, who was to be elected by the

burghers liable to military service, and who should receive his instructions from the president in time of war; that Potchefstroom should be the seat of government; and that the church should be independent of outside connections. It also provided for the election of landdrosts, commandants, and fieldcornets, and for a variety of other matters. No equality of the coloured people with the burghers either in church or state was to be tolerated.

The country was to be termed the South African Republic, and a flag was adopted: the Batavian tricolour with a green vertical stripe at the inner end. Mr. Marthinus Wessel Pretorius was appointed president by twenty-one votes to three, and Mr. Stephanus Schoeman was chosen commandant-general.

On the 6th of January, 1857, the president and members of the executive council were installed with much ceremony, and the new flag was raised and saluted, after a blessing had been invoked upon it by the Reverend Mr. Van der Hoff.

As soon as this became known in Zoutpansberg there was an outburst of indignation. On the 29th of January at a public meeting the people of the district disowned the new constitution and everything connected with it. Mr. Schoeman declined to accept office under Mr. Pretorius, and a manifesto of independence was published and acted upon.

The rump of the old volksraad met at Lydenburg on the 17th of December, 1856, and repudiating what was taking place at Potchefstroom, declared the district a sovereign and independent state, under the name of the Republic of Lydenburg. There was a district called Utrecht on the borders of Zululand and Natal, that had been settled in 1848, and whose inhabitants had hitherto claimed entire

independence of all other communities. There was, however, strong sympathy between them and their neighbours in Lydenburg, and negotiations for union were now opened, with the result that on the 8th of May, 1858, the two districts came under a single government.

Absurd as it seems, for some time after this there were three distinct and rival states north of the Vaal, where there were not in all twenty thousand Europeans.

Mr. Pretorius's party hoped to be joined by the Orange Free State, and in February, 1857, he himself with a colleague named Goetz proceeded to Bloemfontein to ascertain what could be done there. But at that time most of the Free State people were desirous of alliance with the Cape Colony under a federal government, so the visitors returned from Bloemfontein without success. On the way, however, they met with several partisans, and in the belief that in other parts of the State persons friendly to their cause must be numerous, the government at Potchefstroom resolved to send an armed force to overthrow Mr. Boshof's authority.

Upon Mr. Schoeman's secession, Mr. J. F. Dreyer was appointed commandant-general. In April at the head of two or three hundred men he crossed the Vaal, but only to find that the Free State people had rallied round President Boshof, and that a strong force was in arms to resist him. Commandant-General Schoeman from Zoutpansberg and Commandant-General Joubert from Lydenburg also were offering military assistance to the Free State, so that Mr. Pretorius's cause was utterly hopeless.

The two commandos came face to face on opposite banks of the Rhenoster River, but as there were

literally brothers and cousins in the opposing camps, there was great reluctance to come to a combat. Mr. Pretorius then sent Commandant Paul Kruger with a flag of truce to propose a pacific settlement, and this being agreed to by Mr. Boshof, on the 1st of June, 1857, a formal treaty was signed, in which each party recognized the other as absolutely free and independent.

A very short experience proved to the people of Zoutpansberg that they could not stand alone. Therefore when proposals for reconciliation were made to them from Potchefstroom they considered them favourably, and Mr. Schoeman, who raised objections to the last, was overruled. Deputies from each side met and arranged terms, and in January, 1858, Zoutpansberg became part of the South African Republic, and Mr. Schoeman took Mr. Dreyer's place as commandant-general.

In 1858 two more clergymen arrived from the Netherlands, one of whom was stationed at Lydenburg and the other at Rustenburg. With their arrival religious discord was revived, for the Reverend Mr. Postma, of Rustenburg, differed from the others in being more rigidly calvinistic. Attempts to restore concord were futile, and in August, 1859, a formal separation between the two parties took place, when what is termed the Separatist Reformed—or by its opponents the Dopper Church—came into existence in the South African Republic. Its members maintain the extremest simplicity in worship, and object to innovations of any kind, even to the use of hymns in public services. In all their habits they are conservative to the last degree, and are about as stubborn a people to meet in opposition as can be found on the face of the earth. They cor-

respond closely to the Scotch Covenanters of days gone by. In this church men like Mr. Paul Kruger, with deep religious convictions combined with great austerity in manner of life, find best what meets their needs. In later years congregations were formed in other parts of South Africa, and this communion has now its own training college for clergymen at Burghersdorp in the Cape Colony.

A desire for union of the two states north of the Vaal had by this time become general, and long negotiations led to a meeting of representatives of both at Pretoria on the 3rd of April, 1860. There were present fifteen members of the volksraad of the districts Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, Pretoria, and Zoutpansberg, forming the South African Republic, and twelve members of the volksraad of the districts Lydenburg and Utrecht, forming the Republic of Lydenburg. On the following day articles of union were signed, when the smaller state was absorbed by the larger, and it was agreed that Pretoria, as a more central position than Potchefstroom, should become the capital.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

## THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC FROM 1860 TO 1869.

THERE was now a single republic north of the Vaal, but the dissension between the different factions was as strong as ever. The party that in earlier years had adhered to Commandant Potgieter, that may be termed the progressive section of the community as far as concerns religious tolerance and treatment of foreigners, immediately set itself in opposition to the officials of the existing government. President Pretorius had obtained six months' leave of absence, and had gone to Bloemfontein to take up a similar position in the Orange Free State, with the avowed object of trying to bring about the incorporation of that country also. When the volksraad met at Pretoria in September, 1860, the animosity displayed towards him was so strong that he resigned as president of the South African Republic, and all chance of union was at an end.

Mr. J. H. Grobbelaar was then appointed acting president by the volksraad, but the other party held a mass meeting at Potchefstroom, and resolved that Mr. Stephanus Schoeman should fill that office. After a series of meetings and counter-meetings Mr. Schoeman raised an armed force to support his authority, upon which Commandant Paul Kruger called out the burghers of his district—Rustenburg,—and marched to Pretoria to drive Schoeman out.

A number of influential persons then tried to prevent civil war, and Kruger and Schoeman were induced to consent to the election of three men from each commando to form a court, with Mr. M. W. Pretorius as chairman, to determine what should be done. This court decided that both commandos should be disbanded, and that a new volksraad should be elected, to whose authority all should bow.

In April, 1862, the new volksraad met. It made a clean sweep of all the old officials as well as the claimants to authority, selected a new staff, resolved that a president should be elected by the people as soon as circumstances would permit, and appointed Mr. Willem C. Janse van Rensburg to act in the meantime. Mr. Schoeman refused to submit, and called his adherents to arms. Then Commandant Kruger, without any other authority than his own will, raised a strong force, with which he expelled Schoeman and his partisans from Pretoria, followed them to Potchefstroom, where they took shelter, and laid siege to that village. He had three pieces of artillery and Schoeman only one. Fire was opened upon the place, but very little damage was done, except to the gables of a few houses. In a sortie Schoeman lost his cannon and one man killed, and was wounded himself with seven others, after which he fled with his principal adherents to the Free State.

As soon as Kruger retired, however, he returned, and was soon again at the head of eight hundred men. Mr. Pretorius then appeared as a mediator, and both parties agreed to await the decision of the people to be made known at the polls. The disturbed condition of the country prevented anything like a fair general election until October, 1863, when Mr. Van Rensburg was returned by a small majority.

as president and Mr. Paul Kruger by an unquestionable excess of votes as commandant-general.

The opposition now asserted that the ballot papers for the president had been tampered with, and another appeal to arms was made. On this occasion Commandant Jan Viljoen, of the Marikwa, took the lead. In December, 1863, he occupied Potchefstroom, and upon Commandant-General Kruger proceeding against him he was found to have such a strong following that Kruger was obliged to retire across the Vaal and most of his men surrendered. Viljoen then marched upon Pretoria, when President Van Rensburg and the officials fled to Rustenburg, so he installed others of his own choice. He then marched towards Rustenburg, but on the way at the ford of the Limpopo was met by Kruger, who had collected another army of eight or nine hundred men.

On the 5th of January, 1864, a battle was fought, in which Viljoen was driven back, but his commando held together and retired in good order. He lost five men killed and about thirty wounded, Kruger's loss being two men killed and six or eight wounded. On the following day Mr. Pretorius appeared again as a mediator, and both parties agreed to abide by the result of a new presidential election.

On this occasion one thousand five hundred and nineteen votes were recorded for Marthinus Wessel Pretorius and one thousand one hundred and eighteen for Willem C. Janse van Rensburg. On the 10th of May, 1864, the volksraad met, and Mr. Pretorius took the oath of office. The civil strife now ceased, not because party feeling was allayed, but because of the pressure upon the Europeans by the Bantu inhabitants.



Naturally these people had taken advantage of the opportunity afforded by the dissensions among the burghers to strengthen their own position. They like independence as much as Englishmen or Dutchmen do, and no one can justly blame them for it, although to our ideas liberty is anything but a blessing in their case. On the west the whole of the Betshuana tribes were now practically free of control, and the republic was never again able to exercise authority over them. This was partly due to the facility with which they could retire to the Kalahari desert if attacked, partly to their having obtained arms and ammunition in abundance in exchange for peltry, and partly to the arid nature of the land on which they lived, as it offered no temptation for settlement to Europeans while better ground could be had elsewhere.

On the east two powerful clans had risen in open rebellion, and the white people had been obliged to go into lagers, where they managed to defend themselves until the Swazis came to their aid and almost exterminated the insurgents. This relief, however, placed the Europeans in an extremely precarious position, as owing their safety, not to their own strength, but to that of a Bantu tribe. On this side also a dispute with Cetywayo, son of the Zulu chief Panda, concerning the ownership of a tract of land on the Natal border, was beginning to cause trouble, though actual hostilities were avoided.

In the north the large district of Zoutpansberg was a scene of the wildest confusion. Refugees from Matabeleland had crowded in there and occupied the mountainous parts, and through this immigration and the amazing natural increase of the earlier Bantu inhabitants a very large portion of the district was

in possession of black people. Many of the Europeans on that border were of the roughest and most turbulent type, and when the Bantu quarrelled among themselves, as was their wont, these outcasts took part in the strife and often committed acts revolting to humanity. They called themselves hunters and traders, but were in reality little better than brigands. There was a mission station of the Dutch Reformed Church at Goedverwacht in this district, and a clergyman of the same communion resided in the village of Schoemansdal, where the ivory and ostrich feather trade was brisk and where the landdrost held his court, but outside of these two centres all was lawlessness and disorder.

The most powerful chief in Zoutpansberg was named Magadu, and owing to the Europeans having aided his brother and rival, he was in a state of hostility. President Pretorius visited the district in July, 1864, and by some judicious arrangements endeavoured to restore order, but in vain. After his departure things went from bad to worse, but the government was powerless. In July, 1865, the missionaries were obliged to abandon Goedverwacht, and when in November of this year the president and the commandant-general visited Schoemansdal they found the farms laid waste even on the outskirts of the village. An attempt to get together an armed force failed at first, owing to the mutual dislike of the burghers of the south and the north, and to want of ammunition, for the government was in such straits for want of money that it actually had not means sufficient to pay for the transport from Durban of some powder stored there.

At length, in June, 1867, Commandant-General Kruger got together five hundred poorly equipped

men, and marched to Zoutpansberg. With so small a force he soon found that he could do nothing, so he encamped at Schoemansdal and appealed to the country for fifteen hundred more men and a sufficient supply of ammunition, without which he stated the district must be abandoned. His appeal fell upon deaf ears, for no aid was forthcoming. While he was waiting in suspense two of the white inhabitants were brought to trial for robbery of cattle from natives, and were found guilty by the court of justice. Upon this an unruly mob took possession of the courthouse, released the prisoners, and set the authorities at defiance.

This act was illustrative of the prevailing lawlessness. The commandant-general was not disposed to protect such individuals, and as no help came from the south, he abandoned Schoemansdal. The inhabitants retired with him, and the landdrost and the clergyman went to reside at Marabastad, a hamlet seventy miles to the south-west. The village was at once destroyed by the blacks. Some feeble efforts were subsequently made to recover the abandoned part of the district, but they all failed. Then the various clans fought with each other, and a Swazi army came down upon them and nearly exterminated several, after which Mr. Stephanus Schoeman, who was appointed diplomatic commissioner, arranged terms with most of the chiefs, by which they admitted in name the supremacy of the republic, but remained in reality almost independent. The northern and larger portion of the district of Zoutpansberg was thus lost to the Europeans.

Since the first exploration of the country by white men its mineral wealth was known to be great, but not much had yet been done towards developing it.

Lead was obtained for home use, but the difficulty and expense of carriage prevented its exportation. Coal was found in the south-eastern districts, and was used for fuel in some parts where wood was scarce. Iron could be obtained in vast quantities, and was smelted by the blacks for their own wants, small clans often being in possession of many tons of it. One mountain in the district of Lydenburg was composed of nearly pure iron ore, and affected the magnetic needle at a distance of ten miles. Salt was plentiful and easily obtained from the pans. Silver, copper, cobalt, sulphur, and saltpetre were also found in various localities, but whether the quantity and quality of these minerals were such as to make their extraction profitable was, and still is, unknown.

In December, 1867, a German explorer, by name Karl Mauch, arrived at Pretoria from Matabeleland, and reported that he had discovered rich and extensive goldfields at the Tati, on a stream flowing from the north-west into the Limpopo. A few weeks after this announcement parties of gold seekers began to leave the villages of the republic, and to pass through them from other parts of South Africa. Exaggerated reports of the value of the discovery reached Australia, and from that country a party of experienced miners arrived at Natal, expecting to find gold digging an established industry. Some of them were sent to the Tati by a Natal company, others were employed to prospect for gold in that colony. In England the London and Limpopo Mining Company was formed in 1868, and in April of the following year Sir John Swinburne, its chief manager, reached the Tati with expensive machinery. At this time more than a hundred European diggers

were at work, and two or three times that number of blacks were employed by them. Gold was obtained, and some specimens of quartz were found to be extremely rich; but on the whole mining did not then pay, and shortly most of the diggers dispersed.

Owing to the discovery of gold at the Tati, on the 29th of April, 1868, President Pretorius issued a proclamation defining the boundaries of the republic, making it extend to Lake Ngami at one point and to the mouth of the Maputa River at another. Such a proclamation would have passed unnoticed by the British authorities fifteen years earlier, but it was very different now. The tide of public opinion in Great Britain had already turned in the direction of enlargement of the empire, and though it had not yet acquired much force, many Englishmen, and among them the governor of the Cape Colony, were not disposed to look calmly on while other countries were acquiring vast tracts of land which might some day be found of great value.

Sir Philip Wodehouse therefore immediately raised objections to the inclusion in the South African Republic of territory occupied by independent native tribes, and the Portuguese consul-general in South Africa protested against the annexation of ground belonging to the kingdom he represented. The objections of Sir Philip Wodehouse will be dealt with in another chapter, those of the consul-general were followed by negotiations which resulted in a treaty of friendship between the South African Republic and Portugal, dated 29th of July, 1869, in which the eastern boundary of the country was defined.

The white population during these years had been increasing, though immigration had been small.

Among the new settlers were a few Scotch families introduced in 1866 by a gentleman named McCorkindale, who had land assigned to them round Lake Chrissie, near the Swazi border, where they soon became a prosperous community. Nearly all the villages were now supplied with clergymen, and the Berlin, Hermansburg, and Wesleyan missionary societies, as well as the Dutch Reformed, had commenced to work among the blacks. The new districts of Wakkerstroom, Middelburg, Waterberg, Heidelberg, and Bloemhof had been formed, and landdrosts were stationed in each of them.

The public revenue was never sufficient to meet the expenditure, trifling as that was, for the burghers would not pay taxes when they could avoid doing so. At different times paper had been stamped and put into circulation, until in 1869 the face value of the notes was \$354,365. Though over six million acres of waste land were pledged as security for these notes, their purchasing power was small, at times only one-fourth of that of gold. The public buildings were of the plainest description, and such works as good roads or bridges over the rivers had not been thought of.

The country had been proved to be well adapted for agriculture and large cattle breeding. Woolled sheep, however, did not thrive as well, except in limited localities, as in the Free State. In the warm valleys coffee and almost every kind of tropical fruit attained perfection, and on the highlands flourished all the plants of Central and Southern Europe. Without much effort therefore the tables of the farmers were always supplied with food of the best kind, but they grew no more than they needed for themselves, as there was no market for surplus produce.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

## THE DISCOVERY OF DIAMONDS AND ITS EFFECTS.

A TRIVIAL cause often produces a startling effect. In 1866 on a lonely farm, in one of the dreariest parts of South Africa that is occupied by Europeans, a little child picked up a pebble to play with, and in doing so altered the whole condition of society in the country. Mr. Schalk van Niekerk, a neighbour, happening to call, admired the pretty stone, upon which Mrs. Jacobs, the child's mother, made him a present of it. Some months later an itinerant trader named O'Reilly visited Mr. Van Niekerk's house in the way of business, and the pebble which sparkled so wondrously in the light was shown to him as a curiosity. He at once suspected that it was a diamond, and by his advice it was sent to Grahamstown first and then to Capetown to be tested.

It proved to be a diamond of twenty-one carats, and was purchased by Sir Philip Wodehouse for \$2,400, which was fairly divided among its first possessors, Mrs. Jacobs receiving \$1,200, or a full half, as her share. The place where this gem was picked up was close to the southern bank of the Orange River, about thirty miles below Hopetown. The eyes of every one in the arid district were now cast upon the pebbles, and soon another diamond, and then a third, were found, the last away on the northern bank of the Vaal. Still there was no rush of people from other parts of the country, and

very little sensation was caused by the discovery except in the immediate neighbourhood.

But in March, 1869, Mr. Van Niekerk, whose eyes and ears were very wide open by this time, came to learn that a native witchfinder had long been in possession of a wonderful charm, and from the description which was given to him he concluded that it might be worth looking after. He found the witchfinder, was shown the charm, and before the interview was over had it in his pocket in exchange for cattle worth about a thousand dollars. It was the famous Star of South Africa, a magnificent brilliant of eighty-three carats weight when uncut, for which the merchants Lilienveld Brothers readily gave the lucky Van Niekerk \$53,760. It was believed that this gem had been found on the bank of the Vaal, above the junction of the Hart, but this is not quite certain.

All kinds of industry were in a state of great depression at this time, owing to a protracted drought, and thus many hundreds of young men were ready for any new enterprise. They formed small parties, and went to look for diamonds. Soon camps arose along the banks of the Vaal, and as success attended the search for the precious stones, these grew ever larger and larger. Farmers, and clerks, and mechanics, men of every occupation in short, Dutch and English, swarmed to the place where fortunes were to be made—by a few, but then each individual hoped to be one of those few. From Africa the lust for diamonds spread to Europe and America and Australia, and before the close of 1870 strangers were flocking in from all parts of the civilised world.

In this year the mines at Dutoitspan and Bultfontein, between the Vaal and Modder rivers, were dis-



covered, and quickly canvas camps rose there also. In June, 1871, the marvellous pipe at Vooruitzicht—now Kimberley—the most valuable spot of its size on the surface of the earth, was opened, and at its side appeared a city of tents. No machinery was required at this early stage, all that a digger needed was a sieve with a shovel and a pickaxe, and each one worked on his own account, except in cases where three or four clubbed together.

No railway then extended beyond the coast belt, but the roads from the ports to the diamond fields were covered with heavy waggons drawn by fourteen or sixteen oxen, carrying supplies of food and merchandise to the diggers. It was not long before lines of coaches too were laid on, for the convenience of passengers of many classes, and the large camps became places where the style of living was in marked contrast to that elsewhere in South Africa. Excitement became almost a necessity of existence, days of toil were followed by evenings of revelry, in not a few instances perhaps by something worse. But what need is there to describe it further? A mining camp in its early stages, where a large number of men are massed together, without home restraints or home comforts, is the same all the world over.

North of the Vaal the ground where diamonds were found was claimed by the South African Republic and by each of the native clans living near it. The volksraad of the republic very foolishly granted a monopoly of mining rights to a single company, which was promptly repudiated by the diggers, who thereupon set that government aside. Several Europeans obtained concessions from native claimants, and tried to establish exclusive privileges under them, but were unsuccessful. One camp formed itself

into an independent republic, and elected a president of its own. Matters political were certainly complicated, but fortunately no serious crimes were committed, and in case of petty offences by blacks rough and ready justice was administered, in accordance with public opinion, by laying the offender over a cask and inflicting a few strokes with a sembok. It was evident, however, that matters could not remain long in this condition.

Sir Philip Wodehouse had returned to England, and Lieutenant-General Hay was acting as high commissioner until the arrival of Sir Henry Barkly, who had been appointed governor of the Cape Colony. Most of the diggers were British subjects, so General Hay issued a commission to Mr. John Campbell under the Cape of Good Hope Punishment Bill, and sent him as special magistrate to Klipdrift—now Barkly West—on the Vaal River to preserve order. He was very well received, but his power was so extremely limited under the Act, which had also long been regarded as obsolete, that his authority was almost entirely of a moral nature. A commission was indeed procured for him from the petty Griqua captain Nicholas Waterboer, who lived about ninety miles away, and whose agent, Mr. David Arnot, was one of the claimants of the territory, but Waterboer's pretensions were considered by every one on the spot to be so absurd that Mr. Campbell deemed it expedient to keep any power derived from him in the background.

Meantime President Pretorius was making extraordinary exertions to come to terms with the various Bantu and Korana claimants to the ground, all of whom were now represented by clever European agents, who worked up cases for them that they

would never have thought of themselves, and who were intensely hostile to Dutch supremacy as affecting their positions. Under these circumstances all negotiations failed, and so the new governor, Sir Henry Barkly, when he visited Klipdrift in February, 1871, found an immediate settlement of some kind imperative. President Pretorius was there to meet him, as were the whole of the native claimants and their European agents. A simple temporary administration was established by agreement between the high commissioner and the president, and all parties were induced to refer their claims to a court of arbitration, whose decision they bound themselves to abide by. President Pretorius nominated Mr. Anthony Alexander O'Reilly, landdrost of Wakkerstroom, as one member of the court, and Sir Henry Barkly nominated Mr. John Campbell, the special magistrate at Klipdrift, as the other. It was agreed that if they should differ, the final decision was to rest with Mr. Robert William Keate, lieutenant-governor of the colony of Natal.

The diamond mines between the Vaal and Modder rivers were in territory that had formed part of the Orange River Sovereignty, and over which the government of the Orange Free State had exercised jurisdiction ever since 1854. But Mr. Arnot, on behalf of Nicholas Waterboer, laid claim to it also, though not a single Griqua lived in it, and he offered at the same time to cede it to the British government, together with the territory some distance to the westward actually occupied by the little clan, in return for a handsome annuity to the captain. Order was well preserved at these fields, the Free State landdrost was popular, and a good deal of power was left by the volksraad to a local elected committee, which

had one-tenth of the whole revenue derived from mining licenses at its disposal. There had been a long correspondence between President Brand and General Hay concerning Waterboer's claim, and the volksraad at Bloemfontein sent the president and Mr. C. W. Hutton to Capetown to meet Sir Henry Barkly on his arrival and explain matters to him.

The new governor, who assumed duty on the 31st of December, 1870, had an opportunity to bring the different communities in South Africa closer together, and he deliberately threw it away. The Free State was prepared to admit that the discovery of diamonds in vast numbers had created a new condition of things in the country, and was ready to make any reasonable arrangement that would give to Great Britain that voice in the management and control of the new industry and those engaged in it to which she was entitled as the preponderating power. But, smarting as its people were from Sir Philip Wodehouse's treatment, they were not in the humour to submit to further humiliation, and they claimed a right to be dealt with as a people upon whom independence had indeed been forced, but who had proved themselves worthy of freedom and had come to prize it as the greatest of blessings.

Sir Henry Barkly treated the delegates with supercilious disdain. He kept their time occupied with the most trivial matters, and then proposed to them to submit Waterboer's claim to the diamond fields to arbitration by a local court. To this they would not consent. They believed themselves rightly entitled to a tract of land beyond the lower Vaal River that had been purchased from the agent of a native chief, and their claim to this they were willing to submit to the decision of a foreign potentate; but

to ground that had formed part of the Orange River Sovereignty, that had been transferred to them by the British special commissioner Sir George Clerk, they would not admit that there could be any doubt of ownership, and therefore no reason existed for arbitration concerning it. In the part of the former Sovereignty claimed by Mr. Arnot for Waterboer there were at least a hundred and forty occupied farms, a considerable number of which were held under British titles. These they would not place in the slightest jeopardy.

The Free State was therefore not represented in the arbitration court that opened its sittings at the village of Bloemhof on the 4th of April, 1871. The whole proceedings there were a farce. To conduct the case for the South African Republic President Pretorius and the state attorney Frederik Klein appeared, but without documents, with no arranged plans or evidence, leaving in fact everything to chance and fate. It may be said with truth that the real ground on which the republic ought to have rested its claim was never put before the court at all. On the other side were several clever men, chief among whom was Mr. David Arnot, agent for Waterboer. He was a lawyer, practising at Colesberg in the Cape Colony, and had the reputation of being exceedingly smart in his profession. He knew that he had no case, not a trump card in his hand, as he afterwards said to the writer of this volume, only the stupidity of his opponents to work upon. But upon that he worked with the utmost effect during the whole proceedings, which lasted until the 19th of June.

The arbitrators, as had been foreseen, disagreed, and the evidence was then sent to Lieutenant-Gov-

ernor Keate for his decision. On the 17th of October, 1871, Mr. Keate issued his award. It gave to Nicholas Waterboer the whole of the territory claimed by him west of Platberg on the Vaal, and cut off from the South African Republic in favour of different Bantu clans the entire country west of Makwasi Spruit. In this was the district of Bloemhof, part of the district of Potchefstroom, and part of the Marikwa, containing many of the farms first occupied by Europeans in the time of Commandant Hendrik Potgieter.

Four days later the award reached Capetown, when Sir Henry Barkly immediately issued a series of proclamations, taking over Nicholas Waterboer and his people as British subjects and their country—with the boundaries of the present province of Griqualand West—as British territory, making provision for its government, and appointing a staff of officials. Without delay a strong detachment of the frontier armed and mounted police was sent to the diamond fields, the proceedings of the landdrost's court were interrupted, and the Free State officials withdrew under protest. The territory then became a crown colony under the name of Griqualand West. Utterly ridiculous as it may seem, it was really believed in England—as may be seen from Lord Kimberley's despatches—that this measure prevented “an encroachment on the Griqua territory by the republics which would open to the Boers an extended field for their slave-dealing operations, and probably lead to much oppression of the natives and disturbance of peace.” The burghers of the Free State were so irritated by such language and treatment that it was with difficulty President Brand could prevent hostilities. He felt as keenly on the

subject as any of them, but he was far too wise to risk an encounter that could only have ended disastrously for his people.

But if the manner in which the principal diamond fields were taken from the Free State was calculated to produce great soreness of feeling, it can be asserted almost without fear of contradiction that their severance was really advantageous to the little republic. The government at Bloemfontein was freed from the difficulty and trouble of preserving order among a body of men so different in thought and habits from the farming population, and from the danger of a revolt. The market for produce remained as free and open as before. A mine at Jagersfontein, far from the others, still remained under its control, and though less productive than Kimberley or Dutoitspan, afforded ample employment for as many of the burghers as chose to follow the occupation of diamond digging.

It was at this time indeed that the Orange Free State entered upon a career of prosperity unsurpassed by any other community in South Africa. The attention of the government, undistracted by difficulties with native tribes or by contentions with outsiders, could be devoted wholly to internal improvements, to the effectual administration of justice, and to the education of youth, in all of which it has kept pace with the most progressive and enlightened of nations. Its treatment of the coloured people within its borders has been most exemplary, not even a labour tax having ever been imposed, in order to avoid everything that could by any construction of words be made to signify an inclination for slavery or unremunerated toil. Nowhere else in South Africa is an equal number of this class of the in-

habitants in possession of so much material wealth, or under more careful protection by the law, though the blacks are not admitted to the franchise except by special resolution of the volksraad in rare cases where they have lived long after the manner of Europeans.

In 1876, nearly five years after Griqualand West became a British colony, the claimants to a number of farms brought actions before the high court to obtain possession. Among them were several to whom Nicholas Waterboer had granted land at the time when his pretensions to the country were before the court of arbitration, and they rested their cases upon the fact that he was then the declared legitimate proprietor. The same ground was claimed by others as having been granted by the Free State government. It was an awkward position for a British judge to be in, but he did his duty honestly and regardless of political consequences, as became his responsible position. For weeks he listened to evidence in which the whole past history of the little Griqua clan was given in the minutest detail, and then after careful consideration he delivered judgment. Waterboer's grants were thrown out, because neither he nor his father, the first captain, had ever any ownership in or jurisdiction over that part of the country.

Upon this President Brand went to England to claim justice from the imperial government. "You took this territory with the diamond mines from me," he said, "on the ground that it belonged to Nicholas Waterboer; now your own judge, after a most exhaustive investigation, has decided that Waterboer had no right to it. Surely equity requires that you should restore it to its proper owner?" But this



was now impossible. Vested interests had been created, and the population had become so entirely British in feeling that the flag could not be withdrawn without immediate strife. Further it was almost everywhere held that Great Britain as the preponderating power in the country should be in possession of the diamond fields. So the president was informed that the territory would not be restored, but he was offered a pecuniary solatium of \$432,000. This he accepted, and with it paid off the public debt of the Free State, which enabled a larger amount than before to be devoted to useful purposes.

It was supposed by the imperial government at the time of taking over the country that the Cape Colony would gladly annex it and provide for its defence. But this a majority in the Cape parliament was unwilling to do, as under the circumstances it would have been an unfriendly act towards the Orange Free State. But now that difficulty was removed, and in 1877 an Act was passed by which Griqualand West was incorporated with the Cape Colony.

Previous to this the parliament had undergone important changes. In 1872 responsible government was introduced, when the heads of departments ceased to be appointed in England, and were replaced by ministers commanding the confidence of the two houses and holding office only so long as they did so. The ministers were a colonial secretary, a treasurer-general, an attorney-general, a commissioner of crown lands and public works, and a secretary for native affairs. The leader of the majority in the house of assembly selected them, and could take any one of the five portfolios which he chose for himself. Thus was completed the measure of liberty,

granted by Great Britain to the colonists, and the country took its place among the great self-governing dependencies of the empire. In the same year another constituency, that of the division of Wodehouse, was added to the eastern province, with the right of returning two members to the house of assembly.

In 1874 a change was made in the manner of electing members for the legislative council. Instead of two provinces, the colony was divided into seven, each returning three members, who were to hold their seats for seven years.

The Act for the incorporation of Griqualand West provided that it should form an electoral province and return one member to the legislative council, and that in it two electoral divisions should be constituted, to be known as Kimberley and Barkly, each returning two members to the house of assembly.

By this time diamond digging, except along the banks of the Vaal where only surface soil was worked, was becoming too expensive an operation for single individuals without capital. The pipes at Dutoitspan, De Beer's, and Kimberley had been emptied of their contents to such a depth that expensive machinery was needed to bring up the ground, and the vast quantity of diamonds thrown into the markets of the world had caused a great diminution in their value. To meet the first difficulty a number of small companies came into existence, and to meet the second most of these companies were finally amalgamated into one great association, termed the De Beer's Mining Company, by the skilful management of the Right Honourable Cecil John Rhodes. As this association can control the quantity placed yearly on the market, it can to a considerable extent

regulate the price, and therefore its dividends have always been large.

To the close of the year 1899 diamonds valued at about four hundred million dollars have been obtained in Griqualand West. The canvas camps have long since disappeared, and substantially built towns, with well laid out streets, lit by electricity and supplied with all modern conveniences, have taken their places.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

## THE ANNEXATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

THE Keate award was received in the South African Republic with the utmost consternation. There was such an outcry against the government for having consented to arbitration that President Pretorius, the state secretary Proes, and the state attorney Klein were obliged to resign their posts. The volksraad assembled, and appointed Mr. Daniel Jacobus Erasmus acting president, who immediately wrote to the high commissioner repudiating the award on the ground of informalities in the deed of agreement. Sir Henry Barkly replied that he was determined to enforce it, but in order to do so it would have been necessary for the British government to take over the territory cut off from the republic, and this the ministry declined to do. The expansion of the empire in Africa was not yet a national passion, and all the known diamond fields north of the Vaal, as well as the richest mines south of that river, were within the boundaries of Griqualand West, so that the country between Makwasi Spruit and the Kalahari desert had no attraction.

The republic therefore in practice kept possession of all the territory in it that was occupied by farmers, and the landdrost of Bloemhof continued to hold his court and exercise jurisdiction as before, while elsewhere the wildest confusion reigned. The native

chiefs and their agents quarrelled with each other, and the scum of the white population of all parts of South Africa drifted there to take part in the strife and foment further trouble for their own temporary benefit.

There was now an intense desire throughout the republic to obtain as president a man of education and ability to contend with the high commissioner. All other qualifications were regarded as of secondary importance to cleverness in this respect. Without education from books themselves, the burghers believed for the moment that an educated president could put their affairs right, for they did not, and could not, recognise that they were not contending with an individual, but with the will of a mighty nation whose opinions had undergone great changes since the middle of the century. There was no one in the republic with the qualifications they needed, so the volksraad hastily resolved that an outsider could be elected. The constitution, it must be observed, was always regarded as flexible, not as rigid like that of the United States of America or of the Orange Free State, and a resolution of the volksraad, even in opposition to any of its clauses, had thus the force of law.

They turned their eyes first to President Brand, of the Orange Free State, in hope that by electing him the two republics might be welded into one, or if that could not be completely effected, that they might be under the same general direction and thus have greater weight in controversy. He, however, rejected their overtures, because, as he said, his election and the union of the two countries would be taken as a menace by England, and would probably be followed by cancellation of the conventions

of 1852 and 1854. They replied that those conventions were of little real value, as Great Britain violated them at will, that they must depend upon themselves, and therefore urged him to comply with their wishes. But he still declined, for it was absolutely necessary, he said, in view of the amazingly rapid increase of the Bantu population that the two white races in South Africa should live together in friendship and peace, and he could do nothing that might tend to bring about a conflict between Dutch and English settlers.

They then selected the Reverend Thomas François Burgers, previously clergyman of Hanover, in the Cape Colony. Mr. Burgers, who was a member of one of the oldest Cape families, was a man of engaging manners, with the power of fascinating those with whom he came in contact. He had received a good education at Utrecht in the Netherlands, and was recognised everywhere as a man of high ability. Having adopted views with regard to religion that were certainly not orthodox, an attempt was made to oust him from his position as clergyman of Hanover, to which he had been appointed by the government, and in a series of trials before the presbytery of Graaff-Reinet and the supreme court at Capetown, ending in an appeal by his opponents to the privy council of England, he had conducted his case with the greatest skill. This was the man the burghers of the South African Republic thought they wanted, a man who, though an Afrikaner, was as unlike themselves in disposition as in religious thought. There was another candidate in the field, Mr. W. Robinson, but Mr. Burgers obtained two thousand nine hundred and sixty-four votes against three hundred and eighty-eight for his oppo-

ment, and on the 1st of July, 1872, he took the oath of office as president.

There was a long and somewhat acrimonious correspondence between the high commissioner and the president, which, however, ended in nothing, as Sir Henry Barkly's hands were tied with regard to the western territory. The finances of the republic were in their normal condition, that is to say the treasury was empty and the bluebacks were depreciated to a mere fraction of their face value. The first task to which the new president applied himself was to improve this condition of affairs, and he succeeded, contrary to the anticipation of most people, in obtaining a large loan from a bank, which enabled him to withdraw the almost worthless paper from circulation and to carry on the government in a becoming manner. Then he obtained authority from the volksraad to proceed to Europe to carry out large plans which he had formed for the progress of the country.

His objects in this visit were first to obtain means for the construction of a railroad from Pretoria to Lourenço Marques, which would make the republic independent of the British seaports in Natal and the Cape Colony, next to engage a staff of educated officials and of teachers for schools which he intended to establish throughout the country, and lastly to induce people with modern ideas to migrate to his part of South Africa and strengthen the population. With these views he went to Holland in 1875, where he had an enthusiastic reception. The Dutch people were not unmindful that in the time of their greatness they had possessed territories beyond the sea capable of colonisation by Europeans, and that none were left to them now where white people could thrive and multiply. But here was a state founded by

men of their own race, whose inhabitants were as truly the descendants and representatives of the famous sea beggars as they were themselves, and here was an opportunity of perpetuating the Dutch language and Dutch ideas in a country not indeed under their own flag, but which they could legitimately consider as a daughter republic. Already too—in 1871—gold had been found in Zoutpansberg and, a little later, in Lydenburg, and though these discoveries had not yet led to mining operations on a large scale, the South African Republic was believed to have great possibilities before it.

President Burgers therefore succeeded in getting as many recruits for the public service as he had means of providing salaries for, he had the satisfaction of seeing a stream—though very small—of emigrants from the Netherlands flowing into his state, and he obtained some of the money that he wanted. With this he purchased railway material, which was sent out, but only to rot and rust on the shore of Delagoa Bay.

In April, 1876, he arrived again at Pretoria, where nothing but evil tidings met him. During his absence Sekukuni, who had succeeded his father Sekwati as chief of the Bapedi tribe, had risen in rebellion, and was carrying on a destructive war against the republic. The district which he occupied was one of great natural strength, his tribe was large and well armed, and all attempts to restore peace had hitherto failed. To the president, who desired nothing so much as quietness to carry out his plans, the prospect was gloomy in the extreme.

There was no other resource, so a large commando was called out, and Mr. Burgers made the fatal mistake of conducting it in person. Paul Kruger,



then vice-president, was the man to whom a little reflection should have convinced him the supreme control ought to have been given. But between these two men there was very little in common, and each disliked the other. The burghers in general had by this time recovered from the panic into which the Keate award had thrown them, they were suspicious of many of the new officials who were believed not to be orthodox in creed, and they were beginning to ask themselves whether God's blessing could be upon a commando led by a man who disavowed belief in the whole contents of the Bible. They answered the call to arms, but literally in fear and trembling.

The army marched to Sekukuni's location, and a stronghold garrisoned by the followers of one of his subordinate captains was taken, which the president in overdrawn language described as the Gibraltar of South Africa. But soon after this a slight reverse was sustained, when the cry "To your tents, O Israel," was sounded, and the flight was general. The president begged the fugitives to shoot him rather than disgrace him in this way, but it was of no use. Men whose courage cannot now be questioned took the lead in running away, calling upon God to forgive them for being in the field under an impious commander, and with the utmost speed they returned to their homes. All that the president could now do was to engage a band of mercenaries to prevent the Bapedi from making raids, and he returned to Pretoria recognising that all his plans were ruined.

Tidings of this event rapidly reached England, where it was commonly represented that the republic had made aggressive war upon an independent tribe, and had deservedly met with a severe defeat. The impression too was general that slavery was

carried on in the country, and that the farmers—usually known by the Dutch equivalent *boers*—were excessively cruel in their treatment of coloured people. A more certain fact was that an attempt was being made to open up a rival port to the detriment of British commerce, and to build up in South Africa a community whose spirit would not be English.

Lord Carnarvon, then secretary of state for the colonies, was waited upon by deputations and individuals of influence, all urging him to interfere and terminate a condition of things that was not only disgraceful but dangerous to the whole of South Africa. And a great change had come over public opinion in England. The confederation of the different colonies and republics, which the Orange Free State had once implored for in vain, which Sir George Grey had been deprived of office for recommending, was now in high favour, and Lord Carnarvon was its principal exponent. He did not recognise that the political blunders of the past could not easily be rectified, and that confederation had become very much more difficult of accomplishment than it would have been twenty years before. In 1875 he sent Mr. Froude, the historian, to South Africa to convince the different legislatures and the people of the advantage of the scheme, and in 1876 he invited the various governments to send delegates to London to meet in conference and discuss the subject.

Sir John Molteno, the first prime minister of the Cape Colony under responsible government, and his colleagues would have nothing to do with it, because, in their opinion, the proposals for confederation should emanate from the communities to be affected,

and not be pressed upon them from outside. Both the republics declined the invitation for the same reason, and only Natal sent delegates, one of whom was Sir Theophilus Shepstone, secretary for native affairs in that colony.

What passed in London between Lord Carnarvon and Sir Theophilus Shepstone is not known, and cannot be ascertained until the documents of that period are as open to inspection as are those of a century ago. For this reason contemporary history must always be defective, because in many transactions the motives and intentions of the actors are only laid bare as far as they themselves desire at the time. It can thus not be stated positively whether Lord Carnarvon instructed Sir Theophilus Shepstone to annex the South African Republic to the British Empire under any circumstances, or whether it was to be done only under certain contingencies.

In the early days of 1877 Sir Theophilus with a small staff and an escort of twenty-five policemen reached Pretoria. Along the road from Natal he was warmly welcomed, particularly by the English and German residents in the villages, and his entry into the capital was as if he had been a public benefactor. As yet no one knew exactly what he had come to do, and he announced no more than that he had been commissioned to assist the republic in word and deed.

Truly at that moment it needed assistance. The government was helpless, poverty-stricken, unable to meet expenses of the most pressing kind. No taxes were being collected, for the burghers would not—in most cases could not—pay them. A kind of peace had been patched up with Sekukuni, but

every one knew that its duration depended entirely upon the will of the chief. A large proportion of the people had lost confidence in the president, and he in them. He had been found utterly wanting in that stubborn perseverance and that cautious proceeding from step to step which were such marked features of their character. A new presidential election was at hand, and the belief was general that it would be followed by civil war, when the republic would relapse into the condition of ten years before. Mr. Paul Kruger was the rival of Mr. Burgers, and a considerable section of the farmers—it was not known exactly what proportion of the whole number—had determined to place him at the head of affairs.

To all these troubles Sir Theophilus Shepstone informed the government another must be added at least as great as any of them. Cetywayo, he said, was ready to invade their territory, and it was only his influence that kept the Zulu legions back. This, however, the burghers did not believe, and certainly they had no fear of the Zulu power. To them Sekukuni, who had to be attacked on fortified hills, was a much more formidable opponent than Cetywayo, who would meet them on open ground where they would have every advantage. They were convinced also that Cetywayo had no hostile designs against them. This statement of Sir Theophilus Shepstone was afterwards distorted to signify that he had threatened to let the Zulu army loose upon the republic, but of that he was quite innocent. At the time it was believed in England and in Natal that his influence with Cetywayo was very strong, and he may have thought so himself, but now it is known to have been purely imaginary.

After a while he informed the president that some-

thing must be done at once, or he would be under the necessity of declaring the country a British possession, but he gave no advice as to what changes should be made. The volksraad was then called together, and in impassioned language Mr. Burgers represented his utter want of power, the necessity for funds to carry on the administration, the need of reform in the judicial system, and the danger the republic was in from British interference. He implored the members to sink all differences, and to devise means for saving their independence. Thus appealed to, they made some alterations in the constitution, provided for the establishment of a supreme court with properly qualified judges in place of the old high court of combined landdrosts, postponed the presidential election for a year, and returned to their homes, leaving him in the sorest straits for want of money.

Sir Theophilus Shepstone now announced that he could wait no longer. Whatever his confidential instructions from the secretary of state were, he certainly had large powers. Many years before he had endeavoured to induce the imperial government to allow him to remove the bulk of the Bantu in Natal to the vacant territory along the head waters of the Umzimvubu, where he proposed that he should rule over them as a semi-independent chief, but his plans were not entertained. After his annexation of the South African Republic, many people in the colonies considered it as merely his old plan carried out with another race and on another field, but he would hardly have ventured upon such a step without previous instructions, and at any rate Lord Carnarvon approved of it afterwards.

President Burgers was a party to the transaction,

for he had abandoned all hope of being able to carry on the administration. Sir Theophilus Shepstone submitted to him for perusal the proclamation about to be issued, and he in return submitted to the British commissioner the draft of a protest he intended to publish as a matter of form, some slight alterations in both documents being made by mutual agreement. Then on the 12th of April, 1877, the annexation was carried out. Mr. Melmoth Osborne, one of the staff of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, read the proclamation, and Mr. Rider Haggard, the eminent novelist, who was then the commissioner's secretary, hoisted the British flag at Pretoria. There was no armed resistance, for the spirit of the people was for the moment crushed by their misfortunes. The executive council met immediately afterwards, and resolved to send a deputation to England to protest against the act,—that was all. Sir Theophilus Shepstone assumed the government, and most of the officials carried out his instructions without hesitation or demur.

So fell the South African Republic, after a troublous existence of nearly forty years from the time that Commandant Potgieter took possession of the country.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

FAILURE OF LORD CARNARVON'S CONFEDERATION  
PLANS AND ABSORPTION OF NATIVE TERRITORIES.

ON the 31st of March, 1877, Sir Bartle Frere landed at Capetown and assumed duty as governor of the Cape Colony and high commissioner for South Africa. He was a man of great talents, and in India had performed eminent service to the empire, so that the colonists felt flattered by his appointment. He had been selected by Lord Carnarvon on account of the suavity of his manners, as well as his universally acknowledged abilities, to carry out the scheme of confederation of the various South African communities which was now a favourite idea in England.

It was supposed that as the English and French provinces of Canada had been confederated to great advantage, the English and Dutch colonies and states in South Africa could also be joined together for their common good. There was really much less difference in blood, habits, and religion between Englishmen and Dutchmen than between Englishmen and Frenchmen, it was said, therefore union in South Africa ought to be more easily brought about than in Canada. But in point of fact the two cases were utterly dissimilar. To bring them upon a level, it would be necessary that Quebec should have been an independent republic for forty years, that four-fifths of the inhabitants of New Brunswick should have been French and that province a free republic

for a quarter of a century, that three-fifths of the inhabitants of Ontario should have been French, that Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island should have been left out altogether, and that British Columbia alone should have been almost purely English. It is most unlikely that if these had been the conditions in Canada confederation would have taken place, or that the British Empire would have gained any strength by the inclusion of Quebec and New Brunswick so circumstanced.

It is true that intermarriage between English and Dutch families in South Africa has taken place to a very much greater extent than between English and French families in Canada, but the process of fusion between the two nationalities as a whole can hardly be said to have more than commenced. The religious differences in South Africa are indeed much less than in Canada, but even in this respect there is not perfect agreement. The Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed Churches are in full accord, and there is no antipathy between them and the large body of Wesleyans, the Baptists, and some others, but the Episcopal Church of England has more adherents among the English section of the population than any other body of Christians, and between the clergymen of this communion, with very few exceptions, and those of the Dutch churches there is as little sympathy as between the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches of Canada. Many of the missionaries also, who favour the absolute political and social equality of blacks and whites, are altogether out of touch with the Dutch people.

The actual condition of civilised South Africa was: one large colony, more important than all the other communities combined, with a mixed Dutch and



English population, the former in numerical excess; one small colony almost purely English; and two small Dutch republics prizing their independence as life itself.

The great majority of the people of the Cape Colony were desirous of a closer connection of some kind between the several colonies and republics, and bitterly regretted the events that had led to the condition of things then existing. But only a few regarded the confederation of the various communities as feasible, and even these few were divided in opinion as to how it should be brought about. Some wanted the Cape Colony divided into two, so that the English element in the eastern districts should be supreme in one of them. Others objected to this scheme, and desired such a redistribution of the electoral constituencies as would give their party predominance in the colony as it was. Then a little pressure upon the republics they believed would do the rest.

The preponderating opinion, however, was in favour of quite a different plan. This was to extend the Cape Colony itself wherever it could be done without encroaching on the rights of other civilised communities, to avoid the expense of provincial governments, and to keep on the most friendly terms with the two republics, without attempting in any way to destroy their independence. A telegraph, postal, railway, and customs union with them could easily be arranged, and if more should be found necessary and practicable time would bring it about. Confederation even between the two British dependencies was not regarded by this party as coming within the region of practical politics, for at that moment there were actually more interests in common between the Cape Colony and the Orange Free State, which were under differ-

ent flags, than between the Cape Colony and Natal, which were under the same flag.

Parliamentary institutions had worked extremely well in the Cape Colony, and the Dutch farmers, who formed a majority of the white population, had become satisfied with their political condition and content to remain British subjects, though the ties of blood naturally drew their sympathies towards their relatives north of the Orange in such matters as the annexation of Basutoland and the diamond mines to the empire and the dismemberment of the northern republic by the Keate award. In parliament there were often questions on which Dutch ideas differed from English ideas, and in divisions a majority of the Dutch members would be found on one side and a majority of the English on the other, but the utmost good feeling prevailed, and the decisions, on whichever side they might be, were submitted to without demur. Many purely Dutch constituencies indeed were represented by Englishmen with sympathetic views, for it was not until 1882 that the great measure of giving to the Dutch language equal rights with the English in parliament, courts of law, public offices, and schools was carried. The industries of the colony, except at the diamond and copper mines, were agricultural and pastoral, hence high protective duties were levied on imported provisions of all kinds.

It was very different in Natal. Into that beautiful territory, after it became a possession of the British crown, Bantu refugees crowded in such numbers that it became unfit for occupation by white agriculturists on a large scale, and European immigration was small. The coast belt, which is heated by the warm Mozambique current, was found

to be adapted to the growth of tropical plants, and as it was also healthy for Europeans, a very much larger industry arose there than in any other part of the country. Coffee, arrowroot, ginger, and especially sugar plantations came into existence, and if one plant was found not to pay another was tried. At the present day sugar and tea are produced on this coast belt in considerable quantities.

A few Dutch farmers remained on the high lands, but their voice was hardly heard in the legislature, which consisted of a single chamber, partly elective and partly nominee. There were indeed a few English and German farmers in other parts of the country, but their number was so small that their opinions had little weight. The great majority of the Europeans were engaged in commerce and in forwarding goods to the interior. More than half of the whole number resided in the two towns of Durban and Maritzburg, and a considerable proportion of the remainder in the different villages along the trading routes. Economic views have their origin in the circumstances in which people live, consequently all the residents in the towns, the traders among the Bantu, the civil servants in country places, and the coffee and sugar planters wanted cheap food and a low customs tariff.

This was a great barrier to union between the Cape Colony and Natal. Then the one might be said to be largely Dutch in sentiment, while the other was almost purely English. A still greater difficulty existed in what is known locally as the coolie question. The planters on the coast belt of Natal needed a large supply of labour, and as the Bantu would only work when it pleased them and could not be depended upon at any time, Indian coolies

were brought over under contracts to serve a certain number of years. As they were entitled to free passages back to their own country, it was at first supposed that they would return with their savings when the time of their contracts expired; but they had found a better country than India, and many of them chose to remain where they were. Then a trading class followed, and so the Indian population grew, until it now outnumbers the whites in Natal. All the light occupations of the country and even a great deal of the commerce fell into their hands.

This is a vital question for all the rest of South Africa, as if Indians come in the Europeans must go out. There can be no competition between a man who can live on ten cents a day and another who cannot exist on less than fifty. The English especially have reason to dread the appearance of the Indians, for they are easily displaced in many occupations, such as keeping retail shops, light mechanical work, market gardening, in short every mode of making a living that does not require much capital, skill, or toil. The Dutch farmer is more secure and his interest in the question, though undoubtedly great, is not so direct and personal. A Natal planter, wholesale merchant, civil servant, or forwarding agent might look upon the coolie as a useful individual, whose services were necessary for his success in life, but elsewhere the same coolie was regarded as a being who contributed little or nothing to the revenue, who by his filthy habits gave endless trouble to municipal authorities, who was unfit to take any part in the protection of the country, and who occupied a place that ought to be filled by a European.

These and some other matters of minor importance kept the colonies apart. The Orange Free State had

become enamoured of independence, but under President Brand's guidance might have been induced to enter into such a close alliance with the Cape Colony as to have practically amounted to confederation, and the South African Republic was in such a condition that a really friendly hand held out to it would almost certainly have been eagerly grasped and the firmest connection consistent with its independence secured.

At this time the signs of material prosperity were everywhere visible south of the Orange. Railroads and telegraphs were being rapidly pushed forward, commerce with the interior was expanding, and a new industry, that of ostrich farming, was bringing in large returns. In earlier years the feathers of the wild bird were obtained by hunters and exported, but now it had been found that ostriches hatched in incubators and kept in paddocks were very profitable. A mania for ostrich farming had set in, and lasted until the production of feathers was so great that prices fell, and the industry assumed its proper proportions. Meantime a great deal of money was made, and farms everywhere were much improved by being enclosed with wire fences.

This was the condition of affairs in South Africa when Sir Bartle Frere became high commissioner. Less than a fortnight later, on the 12th of April, Sir Theophilus Shepstone annexed the South African Republic, and whatever chances of confederating the different states and colonies existed before, that act completely destroyed them all. It was announced that the majority of the people there were in favour of the change, but the Dutch farmers of the Cape Colony and the Orange Free State knew better than that. They believed that a wrong had been done, and they would not be parties to condoning it.

It should be obvious to the most thoughtless person that confederation of self-governing or partly self-governing communities cannot be brought about unless by the will of the people themselves. Under a despotic government, supported by an irresistible military force, any combinations are of course possible, but that was not in Lord Carnarvon's mind at all. He wanted the various communities to come together voluntarily, and yet so little did he know of the condition of the country that with his sanction an act was committed which irritated every Dutchman from the Limpopo to Cape Agulhas. And everywhere except in Natal they formed a majority, without a prospect of its being otherwise at any future time. The farmers doubled their numbers every quarter of a century, and they had a greater power of assimilating strangers than any other people in the world. English agriculturists had long since ceased to migrate to South Africa, only people from towns went there now. Surely then the annexation was a great political blunder.

Sir Bartle Frere had hardly time to look about him before the ninth war with the Xosa tribe broke out. It commenced with a trivial quarrel between a few Xosas and Fingos at a wedding feast in the territory beyond the Kei, when as both sides were reinforced and hard fighting took place, some of the frontier armed and mounted police were sent to restore order. This could not easily be done, and before the close of August, 1877, the colonial volunteers were called out, and with a regiment of the line were sent to the scene of the disturbances. Several actions followed, in which the Xosas under Kreli lost about seven hundred men, and then the chief fled to Pondoland.

In the belief that the disturbance was over, the

troops were withdrawn and the volunteers returned to their homes, which they had hardly reached when Kreli made his appearance again. One of his captains entered the colony and appealed to the Xosas west of the Kei to assist him, when Sandile and other chiefs rose in arms. Large forces were called out, and operations were commenced which lasted many months and entailed much loss of life, but at length Kreli was thoroughly beaten, Sandile was killed in action, and tranquillity was restored.

During this war Sir Bartle Frere dismissed the Molteno ministry, and on the 6th of February, 1878, Sir Gordon Sprigg became prime minister with a cabinet representing exclusively the English section of the community. The differences between the governor and the Molteno ministry were not confined to the confederation question. Sir Bartle Frere, with his training in India, had the most implicit confidence in the British soldier's ability to fight the Kaffirs and the British general's capacity for directing the necessary operations. Sir John Molteno, who in 1847 had seen a strong regular army encamped for months at the seaside, unable to move for want of transport, while he himself as commandant of a burgher cavalry division penetrated Kaffirland right to Kreli's kraal, had much more confidence in the colonists than in the soldiers, and was unwilling to subject them to the orders of the British general Sir Arthur Cuninghame. Mr. J. X. Merriman, a member of the cabinet, issued some instructions to a body of the colonial forces, upon which the governor dismissed the ministry.

The question was warmly debated in the next session of parliament whether he had acted constitutionally or not, but his personal influence was so

great that the decision was in his favour, and the Sprigg ministry retained office more than three years.

Some portions of the territory between the Kei and the Natal border had been under the administration of British officials for several years before this war, though without being formally annexed. But now an era of expansion had set in, and by degrees one part after another was added to the Cape Colony until the whole was absorbed. Some localities in the highlands are at present occupied by Europeans, but the first and second terraces from the sea are entirely held by Bantu. The territory is divided into little districts, in each of which a magistrate is stationed, who tries civil cases according to native law, but important criminal cases are brought before a judge on circuit. Order is maintained by a strong body of police. No efforts are spared to improve the condition of the people; missionaries of many denominations are thickly scattered among them, and traffic in spirituous liquors is strictly suppressed.

Whether the Cape Colony is stronger or wealthier by possessing this dependency is a disputed question, its cost exceeds its direct revenue considerably, but the fact remains that there was no other way of maintaining peace in it, and perpetual strife could not be tolerated near the border.

Shortly after the ninth war with the Xosas was brought to a close, a much more formidable contest with the Zulu tribe took place. Cetuywayo had succeeded his father Panda in 1872, after having been the real ruler of the tribe since 1856, when he exterminated the adherents of his brother and rival Umbulazi, whom he put to death by torture. He



was a magnificent specimen of a barbarian, and under him the army, which had lost its vigour during the early years of Panda's rule, was reorganised and brought to as great efficiency as it had been in when his uncle Tshaka lived. Cetywayo's object in keeping up a great military force may have been for purposes of state, that he might be recognised as the most important chief in South Africa, or for purposes of defence, as he probably did not regard either of his European neighbours as very scrupulous. Whatever the purpose may have been, the army was there, and was a menace to the Europeans north of the Vaal on one side, and very much more so to Natal on another.

Several acts of provocation against Natal drew from Sir Bartle Frere a demand for redress and for the disbanding of the Zulu army, and as no notice was taken of this, on the 10th of January, 1879, a large force of soldiers and colonists that had been assembled for the purpose crossed the Tugela in three divisions and entered Zululand under Lord Chelmsford as commander-in-chief.

Unfortunately either the Zulu power had been greatly underestimated, or the capacity in the field of the force to be opposed to it was overestimated, and the advice of Pieter Uys and other Dutch farmers to be careful in scouting and forming lagers was disregarded, with the result that a little before midday on the 22nd of January, 1879, the central column was surprised in an unprotected camp at the foot of the mountain Isandlwana, and after a desperate resistance was annihilated. Nearly seven hundred British soldiers and over one hundred and thirty colonists perished.

The same afternoon the post at Rorke's Drift on

the Tugela was attacked by a Zulu army, but was heroically held by a little garrison under Lieutenants Bromhead and Chard, and its successful defence saved Natal from invasion.

The other columns fared better. The one on the right defeated a Zulu army at Inyesane, and reached the Norwegian mission station Etshowe, where tidings of the disaster at Isandlwana were received. Colonel Pearson, who was in command, then fortified the station, and remained there.

The left column reached Kambula without an encounter. There, on hearing of Isandlwana, an entrenched camp was formed, from which Colonel Evelyn Wood frequently sent out patrols to harass the enemy. One of these patrols was almost surrounded at Hlobane and ninety-six men were killed, among whom were Colonel Weatherly, his son, and Pieter Uys, whose father and brother had fallen in the first war with Dingan. The division of the Zulu army by which this was effected then attacked Colonel Wood's camp, but was beaten back with heavy loss.

In April Lord Chelmsford, with a corps of soldiers and sailors, reached Etshowe, after defeating a Zulu army at Ginginhlovu. And now reinforcements began to arrive from England, and kept increasing until by the end of May nine or ten thousand soldiers were on the border of Natal. The former Prince Imperial of France was with them as a volunteer, whose fate was to be killed a few weeks later by a Zulu spear when out with a scouting party.

Lord Chelmsford had no time to lose. Intelligence was received that Sir Garnet Wolseley was coming out not only to supersede him as commander-in-chief of the army, but to supersede Sir Bartle

Frere as high commissioner for South-Eastern Africa. He therefore moved forward as speedily as possible, and on the 4th of July reached Ulundi, the great kraal of Cetywayo. There on that day a battle was fought, desperately by the Zulu warriors, who hurled themselves in dense masses against the British square, but in vain. They were totally overthrown, and when some time later Cetywayo was made a prisoner, all chance of further resistance was over and the Zulu people submitted to the English will.

Sir Garnet Wolseley divided the territory into thirteen districts, and gave each to an independent chief, with a single British resident as adviser to them all. This scheme worked very badly, and so in 1883 Cetywayo, who had conducted himself in a most exemplary manner during his captivity, was permitted to return under certain conditions that it was thought would secure tranquillity. But Sibepu, a rival chief, had in the meantime got together a strong following, and war immediately broke out between them.

In the following year Cetywayo died of grief, but his son Dinizulu continued the war with Sibepu. He invited a party of Transvaal farmers to assist him, and with their aid Sibepu was conquered. In return he gave them the tract of land which was formed first into what was termed the New Republic, but was afterwards incorporated with the South African Republic, and is now the district of Vryheid.

Strife, however, still continued among the Zulus, so in 1887 Great Britain annexed what remained of the country, and placed it under the administration of the governor of Natal. It was formed into six districts, and a European magistrate was stationed in each with a police force to support his authority.

Dinizulu naturally resisted, and as it was found impossible to restore order while he was in the country he was made a prisoner, and in 1889, with two other chiefs, was sent in captivity to St. Helena. There he remained in exile until 1898, when he was permitted to return, as the country had then been quiet for a long time and British rule was believed to be firmly established.

The Zulu war drew the attention of every one in England and South Africa for the time away from the principal object of Sir Bartle Frere's appointment, but as soon as it was over the question of confederation came on again. It was even supposed by some persons that the Transvaal people would be more friendly towards English rule on account of the destruction of the Zulu power, which was believed to have threatened them, and it was generally felt that Transvaal opinion was the most powerful factor in the question. But those people would not admit that they ever had anything to fear from the Zulus, or that the war had benefited them as it unquestionably had Natal. With the exception of Pieter Uys and a few of his friends, none of them had taken part in it, and they constantly averred that it was a matter in which they had no concern. This view was also held by their kinsmen in the Cape Colony, so that the Zulu war really made no change in the position.

Sir Gordon Sprigg's views were in accord with those of the governor, but there was not sufficient power behind him to enable him to carry a resolution in favour of confederation through parliament in the session of 1880. With this failure Sir Bartle Frere's work in South Africa came to an end. He had not done what was impossible for any man—

even so grand and highly gifted a man as he—to do, he had not overcome the will of the great majority of the electors, for in addition to the entire Dutch party there were also many Englishmen in the colony who felt that the annexation of the South African Republic was not only unwise but unjust, and who would not support any measure that depended on it. So he was recalled. In September, 1880, he returned to England, and in January, 1881, his place was taken by Sir Hercules Robinson, afterwards Lord Rosmead.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

## EVENTS THAT LED TO THE CONVENTION OF PRETORIA.

IMMEDIATELY after the issue of Sir Theophilus Shepstone's proclamation annexing the South African Republic to the British Empire, troops that had been stationed on the Natal border in readiness entered the country and occupied the principal towns. For the former name of the state was substituted that of the Transvaal Territory. In a short time English capital began to flow in, and before the close of the year property of all kinds attained a value never known before. Immigrants too, chiefly traders and speculators, but including a few farmers, arrived to the number of about a thousand of both sexes and all ages annually during the next four years. There was at last a prospect of the resources of the country being developed. To modern Europeans of the commercial class the results of the substitution of the British ensign for the four-colour justified the annexation, if it could not be defended on other principles.

Some of the grounds on which it had been carried out had unquestionably proved to be incorrect. Not a single slave had been released, because not one was found in the country. There, as everywhere else in South Africa, it was seen that the Dutch inhabitants had no greater difficulty than the English in inducing Bantu to take service with them, proving at least that in the opinion of the people most concerned they were

subject to no harsher treatment from one class of Europeans than from another. Sir Theophilus Shepstone found that the war with Sekukuni had been not only justifiable but unavoidable, and stranger still he found that in the dispute concerning the boundary with Cetywayo the real justice of the case had been on the side of the republic.

What remained then? The facts that in the northern part of the state the Bantu had been victorious and driven the Europeans back, that owing to the dissensions among the farmers the supremacy of the white race in the country was endangered, that unwillingness or inability to pay taxes made good government impossible, that the attempt to open intercourse with the outer world through Delagoa Bay was hostile to British commerce, and that the spirit of the recent republican government was not in sympathy with British ideas as to the future of South Africa.

The farmers, who prized their independence above all things, were not affected in disposition by the commercial improvements that annexation had brought about. The old party divisions among them began to disappear, and they set themselves to the task of preparing for armed resistance in case the representations made in England by their delegates should prove of no avail.

In May, 1877, Mr. Paul Kruger, late vice-president, and Dr. Jorissen, state attorney, who had been instructed by the executive council to proceed to England with the protest, left Pretoria on their mission. Upon their arrival in London they found the doors of the foreign office closed against them, but were received with politeness by Lord Carnarvon, secretary of state for the colonies. He informed them, however, that the annexation would not be cancelled, and

stated as his belief that the majority of the Europeans in the country were in favour of the change.

The delegates reached Pretoria again in December, 1877, and the result of their mission was soon known in every homestead in the country. Thereupon the burghers resolved to hold a general meeting to decide upon what should be done. This took place at Doornfontein in April, 1878, when it was determined to send another deputation to London with a memorial signed by those who objected to become British subjects, which they believed would convince the secretary of state that his opinion was founded on incorrect information. The memorial received six thousand five hundred and ninety-one signatures, representing rather more than four-fifths of the whole inhabitants of the country, Dutch and English combined. With it Messrs. Paul Kruger and Pieter Joubert, with Mr. Eduard Bok as secretary, left for England.

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach had in the meantime succeeded Lord Carnarvon as secretary of state for the colonies. Before him the delegates laid their memorial, professing to believe, or really believing, that the number of signatures attached to it would give it great weight. But it had just the contrary effect. Was this all that people aspiring to be a nation could produce? Why, a little English market town could do as much. The annexation was an accomplished fact, and would not be withdrawn; in course of time there was no doubt every one would see that it was the best thing possible for all concerned. So the deputation returned to Pretoria with heavy hearts, and reported its failure.

Sir Theophilus Shepstone had promised the people that under British rule they would have a voice in



their government, but this promise had not been carried out. The thing was indeed impossible. The British authorities knew that the first resolution of any elected body in the country would be in favour of independence, and therefore they could not create representative institutions. The government was carried on as a despotism, but at first of the very mildest kind. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, whose habits differed little from those of the farmers, was accessible to every one, spoke Dutch like one of themselves, and was personally not disliked except for having been the instrument through whom the annexation had been effected. But in March, 1879, he was replaced by Sir Owen Lanyon, a retired military officer, who regarded the farming people with something like contempt, and who made no effort of any kind to conciliate them. Then, they said, the iron truly entered into their souls.

In April, 1879, Sir Bartle Frere visited the country for the first time. At Kleinfontein, on the road from Natal to Pretoria, some thousands of burghers had been waiting for weeks to meet him. On his first visit to their camp he went almost alone, as there was some talk in Natal that he might be seized and detained as a hostage, and he wished to show his fearlessness and his confidence in them. But he was coldly received, so two days later, on his second visit, he was accompanied by his staff and an escort. The assembly had but one desire, the restoration of independence, and a memorial to Her Majesty the Queen to that effect was given to the high commissioner to be forwarded. No reply was ever made to it.

On the 16th of December, 1879, there was another large meeting at Luipards Vlei, when it was resolved to take up arms and restore the republican

government in April, 1880, if nothing to prevent the necessity for so doing occurred before that date. Those present took an oath of fidelity to the cause, and sent a declaration of rights to the new high commissioner Sir Garnet Wolseley, who replied by imprisoning Messrs. M. W. Pretorius and Eduard Bok, the chairman and secretary. They were, however, not kept long in confinement.

Sekukuni at this time was giving the British authorities as much trouble as he had given a few years before to the republican government. Sir Garnet Wolseley thereupon raised a strong contingent of Swazis, with whom and his troops he marched against the Bapedi, and inflicted very heavy punishment upon them. The chief himself was made a prisoner, and taken to Pretoria, where he was kept in captivity until the next change of government. This is the only event of note that occurred before Sir Garnet Wolseley was succeeded as commander-in-chief by Sir George Colley.

The elections in Great Britain which ended with the downfall of the Beaconsfield ministry caused the republican party to postpone the action they had intended to take. Mr. Gladstone, who became prime minister, had denounced the annexation in his Midlothian speeches in as strong language as any one in South Africa had ever used, and the burghers therefore had reason to hope that he would undo the act which was so objectionable to both him and them. But this he did not do, on the grounds that it was an accomplished fact, that new interests had grown up, and that another change might be perilous.

Towards the close of 1880 an attempt to collect taxes began to be made, which was at once resisted. A farmer named Bezuidenhout, who resided near

Potchefstroom, refused to meet the demand against him, upon which the messenger of the court seized his waggon, and it was exposed to sale by public auction in the village. An armed party under Commandant P. Cronje then rescued the waggon, and the government realised that a general rising was imminent.

On the 8th of December, 1880, the burghers began to assemble in large numbers at Paardekraal, and a few days later a resolution was carried unanimously that the volksraad should resume its sittings, and that Messrs. Paul Kruger, Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, and Pieter Joubert should form a triumvirate to carry on the administration provisionally. Mr. Joubert was also elected commandant-general. Each man of the five or six thousand present took an oath to be faithful to death, and deposited a stone as a witness on a heap, which is now covered by the national monument close to Krugersdorp. The cause was then solemnly committed to the Almighty God, and the commandos marched away under their respective leaders.

On Dingan's day, the 16th of December, 1880, the four-colour was hoisted again at Heidelberg, where the provisional government established its headquarters, and a notification that the republic had been restored was sent to Sir Owen Lanyon, with a request that he would retire at once from the country with the British troops. A proclamation announcing what was being done had been sent from Paardekraal to Potchefstroom to be printed. Commandant Cronje, who took it, entered the village with his men on the 16th, and was fired upon by the soldiers in garrison there, when a burgher was severely wounded and the first blood in this deplorable war was shed.

The main British camp, under Colonel Winsloe, was outside the village, but there was a detachment of troops under Major Clarke at the landdrost's office and some buildings adjoining it, which had been prepared for defence. Cronje returned the fire of the soldiers, and invested the houses held by Major Clarke, who after two days' resistance was obliged to surrender. Siege was laid to Colonel Winsloe's camp, but it was so ably defended that it did not fall until after the armistice of the 6th of March, 1881.

Before this event Sir Owen Lanyon had sent instructions to Colonel Anstruther, who was in command at Lydenburg, to march at once to Pretoria to strengthen the garrison there, and he was warned to be careful, as a general rising of the farmers was probable. This movement was anticipated by the triumvirate, and Commandant Frans Joubert was ordered to prevent it. The commandant selected a strong position at Bronkhorst's Spruit, thirty-eight miles from Pretoria, on the Lydenburg road, and waited for the troops to come up. Colonel Anstruther, who had nothing but disdain for the farmers as fighting men, reached Bronkhorst's Spruit on the 20th of December with two hundred and fifty-nine officers and soldiers of the 94th regiment and a long waggon train, without a single scout having been sent ahead to examine the country. Suddenly he became aware that he was abreast of armed men, and a farmer with a white flag in his hand rode up and informed him that he could go no farther without being fired upon. He replied that he would go on, when the messenger retired, and a volley was poured in. The resistance was feeble, and in a few minutes so many men were dead or disabled that the colonel, who was dying of a wound, was obliged to surrender.

Sir George Colley, the commander-in-chief, was in Natal when tidings reached him that the farmers of the Transvaal had risen in a body, and that the English residents had retired to the four garrisoned towns, —Pretoria, Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, and Standerton,—which were closely besieged. He too altogether underestimated the military qualities of the men he had to deal with, and to relieve the besieged garrisons he attempted to cross the Drakensberg with a force of twelve hundred soldiers. Commandant-General Joubert lay in wait at Lang's Nek, an extremely formidable position that had to be passed, and when on the 28th of January, 1881, General Colley attempted to force his way through he was driven back with heavy loss.

He retired to a place close by named Mount Prospect, where he formed an entrenched camp, and awaited the arrival of troops from England. A few days later he learned that a body of farmers was between him and Newcastle, and that his communications with Maritzburg were being cut off. On the 8th of February he left Mount Prospect with four or five hundred men, chiefly of the 60th rifles, and at Schuins Hoogte on the right bank of the Ingogo River encountered a commando under Nicolaas Smit, with which an engagement was carried on during the remainder of the day. After nightfall, in heavy rain, General Colley was able to return to his camp, but he left a very large proportion of his men dead and wounded on the field of battle.

There seemed now but one chance of victory left. Beside the farmers' camp at Lang's Nek rose a peak called Majuba, and its summit was accessible by means of a ridge that ran down near Mount Prospect. If that could be occupied the Nek would be

commanded, and the farmers would be obliged to withdraw. Reinforcements had just reached him, so during the night of the 26th of February General Colley with about five hundred and sixty men made his way up the mountain, and leaving two pickets on the slope, reached the summit in safety. At dawn on the 27th the farmers two thousand feet below observed the soldiers on the top of Majuba, and at once realised that their position was untenable unless the mountain could be taken by storm. For that kind of warfare they had never regarded themselves as qualified, but on this occasion they were moved—by divine guidance they afterwards said—to make the attempt. Led by Commandant Nicolaas Smit, they crept up from boulder to boulder without receiving harm from the fire above, until a little after midday seventy or eighty of them appeared over the rim of the hollow crest, when the soldiers were seized with panic, and fled downward by the way they had gone up in the night. Sir George Colley lay in front of the dead on the top of Majuba, and the path of the fugitives was thickly strewn with corpses and wounded men.

The enormous disparity between the British losses, amounting in all these engagements to about eight hundred and twenty-five killed and wounded and two or three hundred made prisoners, and the eighteen killed and thirty-three wounded on the farmers' side, is easily accounted for. In every instance, except towards the close of the attack at Majuba, the soldiers were fully exposed and the burghers were wholly or partly under cover. The number of troops engaged was absurdly small to attempt the conquest of the country, though on the other hand the farmers were practically without artillery and but poorly supplied with other munitions of war.

They had not been able to get possession by force of arms of any of the four besieged towns, though the garrison under Colonel Winsloe at Potchefstroom was obliged to surrender for want of provisions within a fortnight after the storming of Majuba.

Sir Evelyn Wood succeeded Sir George Colley as commander-in-chief, and as reinforcements had arrived from England he was at the head of twelve thousand men. In his opinion he held the Transvaal farmers in the hollow of his hand. Perhaps he did, but there were many in South Africa who doubted it. The triumvirate and those they represented were well aware of the enormous power of Great Britain. But they believed firmly that God was helping them, and would continue to do so as long as they were prepared to accept for the sake of peace even a portion of what they considered they were justly entitled to. Or if it was His will that they should be punished for their sins and that a British army should subject their country, when resistance failed they had resolved to burn every building, to lay the land utterly waste, and to retire farther into the interior. The women particularly were determined upon this, and in the race of the sea beggars woman's influence is supreme. Whether one feels inclined to praise or to condemn them for it, it is indisputable that they were not degenerate kinsmen of those Netherlanders who cut their dikes and flooded their country rather than see their foes in possession of it.

President Brand had done his utmost to keep the Orange Free State out of the contest, and was trying to act as a mediator, but some of his burghers in their strong sympathy with their kinsmen had already taken the field, and the others could not be

restrained much longer. In the Cape Colony too, though no one wished to be under any other than the British flag, the strain upon the loyalty of many thousands of men and women was great, for the Dutch section of the population certainly held that the people of the Transvaal territory had a right to independence if they wished it.

Under these circumstances Mr. Gladstone accepted the offer of President Brand, with whose assistance an armistice was concluded on the 6th of March, 1881, between Sir Evelyn Wood and Commandant-General Joubert, and the terms of a general settlement between the contending parties were broadly laid down in a document signed a little later. The burghers then returned to their homes, and everything remained unchanged until royal commissioners who were appointed to enter fully into particulars and draw up a new convention had completed their labours.

The convention as finally arranged and signed on the 3rd of August is a lengthy document containing thirty-three articles. It provided for the complete self-government, under certain conditions, of the white inhabitants of a territory whose boundaries were defined, and which was much smaller in extent than the old republic or the country under British rule. It was to be under the suzerainty of Her Majesty the Queen. Her Majesty was to have the right of appointing a Resident, of moving troops through the country in time of war, and of controlling all the external relations of the state. The Resident, besides other duties, was to be protector of the Bantu inhabitants, and no legislation affecting those people was to be in force until approved of by Her Majesty's government. The Transvaal state



was made liable for the debt of the old republic, amounting to \$748,162, and for the expense incurred by the British government in carrying on the civil administration from 1877 to 1881, amounting to \$1,272,000. The government, under these and other less important conditions, was to be transferred to the triumvirate on the 8th of August, 1881, and the convention was to be ratified by a duly elected volksraad within three months after that date, otherwise it was to be null and void.

It is impossible to see in what respect a state created by such a convention could be regarded as more independent than a self-governing colony of the empire. However, Messrs. Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert signed the document, and on the 8th of August the government was transferred to them by Sir Hercules Robinson, the chairman of the royal commission, the other members, Sir Evelyn Wood and Sir Henry de Villiers, chief justice of the Cape Colony, being with him. Sir Hercules, in presence of a large assembly of Europeans and Bantu, formally annulled Sir Theophilus Shepstone's proclamation annexing the country, and delivered an address explaining the new condition of affairs.

A volksraad was elected, but for some time it was doubtful whether the convention would be ratified. The members realised that if they approved of it they could no longer appeal to the Sand River Convention, which they held still to be morally and legally in force, as they had never consented to its abolition. The condition of things which that document laid down was what they wanted and what they believed they had a right to, not such shackled privileges as were described in this Convention of Pretoria.

But it was clearly explained to them by the triumvirate that their only choice in the matter was that or war with Great Britain. Public opinion in England would not allow Mr. Gladstone to consent to more, even if he were personally disposed to do so. How could they tempt Providence by renewing a war which they had no means of carrying on, and in which they would not have the strong sympathy of their kinsmen in other parts of South Africa, who were all of opinion that they should accept these terms as the best they could hope to obtain?

The volksraad then yielded, and on the 25th of October the convention was formally ratified, but to say that it was approved of would be incorrect. Mr. Kruger was shortly afterwards elected president of the vassal state, which took its former name of the South African Republic, and entered upon a career beset with difficulties.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

## THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC UNTIL THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOLD MINING.

THE arrangement made by the Pretoria Convention proved to be anything but a permanent settlement of the difficulties in South Africa. The Englishmen who had either gone to reside in the Transvaal territory between 1877 and 1881, or who had invested money there, were loud in denunciation of the imperial government for having abandoned them, and declared they would never be satisfied until British rule was again restored. Many of them left the country altogether. The union jack was ceremoniously buried at Pretoria with demonstrations of grief and shame, but on the epitaph was the significant word *Resurgam*, which clearly expressed the view of the mourners. Unjustifiable acts, or what appeared as such, committed by some farmers during the period of hostilities were noised abroad, and among them was the deliberate murder of a British officer, Captain Elliot.

On the other hand the farmers chafed under the restrictions imposed upon their government, especially the suzerainty, which might mean anything or nothing according as Great Britain chose to interpret it. Their view of the matter may be given, as it was once placed before the author of this volume, in the following simile, which does not differ in meaning from President Kruger's illustrations.

"If you were ill and weak, and a very strong man were to knock you down and take from you your purse, and watch, and clothing, leaving you naked, and afterwards offered you your clothing again, would you accept it?"

"I think I should, that would be better than to remain naked."

"But would you be satisfied until your watch and purse were also restored?"

"No, I should not be."

"Well, that is exactly our case. In taking our independence from us, Great Britain took all that we valued, clothing, and purse, and watch; now Mr. Gladstone has returned the clothing, but we have not got the purse or the watch, and therefore we are dissatisfied still."

When people who have dealings with each other are in these frames of mind matters cannot go on smoothly between them. The position of the British Resident, under any circumstances a most delicate one, was a thorn in the side of the administration, which felt itself hampered in a way and to an extent that no ministry in any self-governing colony is ever subject to. The state of affairs beyond the western border was also causing much trouble. The farmers in the territory cut off by the Convention of Pretoria were theoretically under the rule of native chiefs, but in practice any attempt to interfere with them was at once resisted, and in such events those within the border could not be restrained from assisting those without. The chiefs there were quarrelling among themselves, the renegade white men living with them were constantly fomenting trouble, crimes of the greatest magnitude remained unpunished, and thus all was unrest and confusion.

These matters were represented to the Earl of Derby, who in December, 1882, became secretary of state for the colonies, and a member of the Transvaal civil service went to London semi-officially to confer with him upon them. The administration at Pretoria and the burghers of the country desired chiefly the withdrawal of the suzerainty, the abrogation of the powers of the British Resident, the extension of the south-western boundary, and the reduction of the debt to Great Britain, which they were then unable to pay. The secretary of state entertained the proposals favourably, and early in 1884 a deputation from the Transvaal, consisting of President Kruger, the Reverend Stephanus Jacobus du Toit, superintendent-general of education, and Commandant Nicolaas Smit, reached London, where matters were arranged between the Earl of Derby and themselves entirely to their satisfaction. The suzerainty was abolished; the powers of the British Resident were abrogated and that officer was to be replaced by one having the position of a consul, the south-western boundary was extended so as to embrace all the farms occupied by Europeans, and the debt was reduced.

To this effect a new convention was drawn up and signed on the 27th of February, 1884. It is much shorter than the one it replaced, containing only twenty articles. By it the South African Republic was restored to the position of an independent state, and its administration, in the Earl of Derby's words, "was left free to govern the country without interference, and to conduct its diplomatic correspondence and shape its foreign policy, subject only to the requirement that any treaty with a foreign state should not have effect without the approval of the Queen." The exact wording of the fourth article, the one of greatest

importance in this Convention of London, is as follows:—

“The South African Republic will conclude no treaty or engagement with any State or Nation other than the Orange Free State, nor with any native tribe to the eastward or westward of the Republic, until the same has been approved by Her Majesty the Queen. Such approval shall be considered to have been granted if Her Majesty’s Government shall not, within six months after receiving a copy of such treaty (which shall be delivered to them immediately upon its completion), have notified that the conclusion of such treaty is in conflict with the interests of Great Britain or of any of Her Majesty’s possessions in South Africa.”

In the fourteenth article the rights of European strangers entering the republic are defined. It reads: “All persons, other than natives, conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic, will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic; they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops, and premises; they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think fit to employ; they will not be subject, in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon citizens of the said Republic.”

The conclusion of this convention was unquestionably an act of liberality on the part of the British government, and there seemed no reason now why the most friendly feelings should not be renewed on the part of the little state. The condition of un-

rest beyond the western border was also soon afterwards brought to an end. In the feud between the Korana chief Taaibosch and the Batlapin chief Mankoroane, each had invited the assistance of European volunteers, and had offered farms as payment, intending to give ground taken from his adversary. Exactly the same course was followed by the two Barolong chiefs Moshete and Montsiwa in their feud with each other. There is a class of men, mostly the outcasts of society, to whom adventure of this kind has a particular charm, and considerable bands were enrolled without difficulty in the service of each chief. It was believed in England that the South African Republic allowed enlistment to take place within its borders, and permitted its territory to be used as a base of operations without any serious effort to prevent it. In South Africa it was known that enlistment was just as freely carried on at Kimberley and the diamond fields along the Vaal, and that as far as nationality was concerned our own countrymen were fully as active as any others in the matter.

In contests in the field only those Europeans who made themselves generally offensive ran any risk of being killed, for, as they said, they had volunteered to fight against natives, not against men of their own colour. After a while they got tired of fighting at all, and then they divided two large tracts of land among themselves and each man had a farm to sell. One tract was formed into the republic of Stellaland, the other into the republic of Goshen. The whole thing would have been a comedy, if it were not for the commiseration due to the natives, who, however, were of a very low and immoral type, not to be compared in any way with the manly Zulus or Xosas.

Montsiwa and Mankoroane now complained to the British government, and the missionary and philanthropic societies supported their appeal for protection. Some efforts to settle matters were made by the Cape government, but did not succeed, and then a strong expedition was sent from England under command of Sir Charles Warren to put things right. Upon reaching Stellaland Sir Charles found that most of the farms had been purchased by orderly people, that a village named Vryburg was being built, and that native rights—except for hunting purposes—had hardly been disturbed. The people were quiet and peaceable, so he did not interfere with them further than to abolish their government. The people of Goshen dispersed before he reached Mafeking, where they had intended to found a village.

In September, 1885, the whole territory from the border of the South African Republic westward to the twentieth meridian from Greenwich, and from Griqualand West and the Orange River on the south to the Molopo River and Ramathlabama Spruit on the north, was annexed to the British Empire and formed into a crown colony under the name of British Bechuanaland. It was divided into five districts, named Gordonia, Kuruman, Taung, Vryburg, and Mafeking, in each of which a magistrate was stationed, with a body of police to maintain order. As much ground as was needed by the natives was then set apart for their use, and the remainder was opened for settlement by European farmers.

The greater portion of the land being waterless, this extension of dominion was not of so much importance to Great Britain on account of the value of the territory itself as for opening a road to the interior, and for the preservation of order in South



'Africa. Lost to the republic through the dissensions among the burghers a quarter of a century before, its occupation by Great Britain could in justice hardly be regarded even as a sentimental grievance, still, though no open complaint was made, some heartburning was felt when the union jack was hoisted at Vryburg and Mafeking, and a powerful neighbour was established along the whole western border.

It was high time for Great Britain to take possession of this territory, for the eyes of another European power were already fixed upon South Africa. In 1884 the German flag had been hoisted at Angra Pequena, on the western coast. A race had commenced for the seizure of every square inch of ground not yet appropriated, and even while Mr. Palgrave, an agent of the Cape government, was in Damara-land negotiating with the chiefs for the extension of British authority over that territory, it too became German property. From the Cunene River on the north to the Orange on the south, and from the Atlantic Ocean on the west to the twentieth meridian from Greenwich—with a great outward bend below the Zambesi—on the east, all the territory became a dependency of the German Empire. In the south it is arid, and its only natural harbour—Walfish Bay—belongs to the Cape Colony, but the introduction of a new and energetic power controlling this great district may mean much in future South African history. It may become a home for those to whom British rule is obnoxious to the last degree, but there is no need to say more concerning it in this volume, which has to deal exclusively with events connected with English and Afrikaner progress in the country down to the present day.

Within twelve months after the signing of the Con-

vention of London, South Africa was startled by reports that rich and extensive goldfields had been discovered in the district of Lydenburg. In parts of that district, especially at and near Pilgrim's Rest, two or three hundred men, or at times a smaller number, had been washing the soil for gold for twelve or fifteen years, but barely paid their expenses, and produced nothing to attract general attention. They lived more upon hope than upon actual success, and hope itself was almost dead when it was suddenly discovered that the richest localities had been neglected. These were some distance farther south, within the area known as De Kaap, not far from the north-western boundary of Swaziland.

To these new fields men made their way from all parts of South Africa. A town of considerable size, named Barberton, sprang up with astonishing rapidity. But the place was difficult of access, costly machinery was required to crush the rock in which the gold was embedded, and in most instances also the richest reefs were situated high on the sides of rugged mountains. This to some extent retarded the development of the mining industry, although it was making steady progress up to the time of the discovery of the still richer fields at Witwatersrand, which naturally drew away most of the miners and those dependent upon them. But even then many of these mines at De Kaap, though eclipsed in fame by those on the Rand, continued to be worked, and have yielded quantities of gold that would have made that metal the chief export of the republic, as it rose to a value of over two million dollars a year.

And now came a discovery that has had a greater effect upon South Africa than even that of the diamond mines, but an account of it cannot be given in

a volume professing to be a narrative of progress without some preliminary remarks. Increase of wealth either of a country or of an individual is not always progress in the right direction. "Prosperity shall try thee, boy, as ne'er thy sires were tried," said the English mother to her son in one of our most beautiful poems. And when the trial leads to loss or diminution of high morality, prosperity is a curse, not a blessing, to either individual or community. Great wealth suddenly succeeding a mere sufficiency for the necessities of life has usually a deteriorating effect. Frugality disappears with industry and energy, pride and vanity take possession of the mind, and, worse than all, the old struggle to do what is right and honest and true, and the old trust in the Almighty God, wane away into nothingness.

He would not be a close observer of the people of South Africa during recent years who could say that the wealth derived from the Rand has not had a bad effect upon many of them. It is not that thousands of worthless characters of both sexes have migrated there from Europe, though that cannot be too much deplored. The country people do not come into contact with them. It is because the desire to share in the gold has brought a new and much less healthy spirit into the country, and things can be openly done there now which thirty years ago would have been followed by ostracism from respectable society. One reads much of the corruption of certain petty officials of the South African Republic, who will not do their duty unless they are first bribed. But that is only one feature of the evil, the worst feature being that people have generally come to look upon such matters as only venial offences.

As late as 1881 many hundreds of families in the

South African Republic resolved to set fire to their own houses and to move away to a wilderness rather than submit to English rule. It may be doubted if that high spirit is still in the land, at any rate to the extent that it was only twenty years ago, though trouble and misfortune may indeed restore it. Looking at the matter in this light, and noting the violent passions that have been roused, the animosities between men who ought to be as brothers, and the awful strife now raging, all of which arose from the wealth of the Rand, the writer of this volume has no hesitation in saying that good would it have been for South Africa if there were not a particle of gold in her bosom.

The revenue of the republic was so small that it was with difficulty the most necessary expenses of the administration were met, when in 1886 some gentlemen named Struben, who had been for over a year prospecting on the high belt of land between Pretoria and the Vaal River, proved the existence of gold there in payable quantities. It was soon found that the extent of the gold-bearing reefs was very great, though some parts were much richer than others. It was not a field for individual diggers, because the precious metal was embedded in rock or conglomerate, which had first to be removed, then to be crushed by powerful machinery, and finally to be treated by different processes, all of which required large capital and special skill. But companies were rapidly formed, and for a distance of thirty miles along the reef mining rights were secured and men were set to work.

In the centre of this line, five thousand six hundred feet above the level of the sea, rose almost as by magic the largest city in South Africa, the world-famed

Johannesburg. Not a city of tents and iron sheds, like Kimberley in its early days, but of massive edifices, many of architectural beauty that would not be out of place in any capital of the world. A city of parks, and luxurious clubs, and magnificent hotels, and shops with great plate glass windows rivalling those of Regent Street or the Rue de Rivoli. A city that within ten years from the time the first foundation-stone was laid contained over a hundred and twenty miles of streets, and possessed fixed property, exclusive of public buildings, churches of all denominations, schoolhouses, and hospitals, valued at over sixty-seven million dollars. A city lit with electricity, with trams and telephones, and all other luxuries of modern life.

To it flocked people from all parts of the world. Its stock exchange during the early years was a scene of the wildest speculation, for companies were floated and their shares bought and sold without any proof that they were worth more than so much clean paper. Great fortunes were made by a few individuals in this way, and great misery was caused to thousands of excited and foolish wealth hunters. At length, however, this period of reckless speculation passed away, the fictitious companies disappeared, and the industry settled down into proper order.

The great difficulty at first was want of transport. All the building material, provisions, and machinery had to be conveyed on bullock waggons from the termini of the Cape and Natal railways. It was thus impossible to erect stamping batteries until many months, sometimes years, after really legitimate companies were formed. The only requisite at hand was coal, which was abundant and close by. A railway was therefore constructed from the coal mines

along the whole length of the reef, and as soon as stamps could be erected the fuel was there for the engines. So the output of gold increased yearly by leaps and bounds. In 1888 it was 230,189 ounces, in 1889 369,551 ounces, in 1890 494,810 ounces, in 1891 729,233 ounces, in 1892 1,210,865 ounces, in 1893 1,478,477 ounces, and in 1894 2,024,164 ounces.

To secure railway communication between Johannesburg and the sea was now a matter of the first importance. The question was what port should be selected. Delagoa Bay was the nearest, the harbour was the best on the coast, and there had always been a longing on the part of the republic for access to the outer world by that route. But if President Kruger had been a diplomatist, and had regarded tranquillity as the first consideration, he would probably have selected a line to Port Elizabeth as the first to be constructed. He had a perfectly legal right to choose the route to Delagoa Bay, but it is not always judicious for a weak power to make use of its full privileges. His training, however, as well as his disposition, put him out of the pale of diplomacy, though his strong common sense must have acquainted him that by trying to divert trade from the Cape Colony he was rousing the jealousy, if not the hostility, of a powerful neighbour. To these considerations he acted as if he was indifferent. He would not permit either the Cape or Natal to extend a line beyond his border until one to Delagoa Bay was secured. In 1887 a concession was granted to an association in Holland termed the Netherlands South African Railway Company, under which a monopoly of the construction and working of lines within the republic was given to that body, and an agreement was made

with Portugal to link a line from Johannesburg to the border with one from the border to Lourenço Marques.

The Portuguese government granted a concession to a Company in London to construct its portion of the railroad, but when the work was nearly completed seized the line on the ground that one of the clauses of the concession had not been carried out. The amount of compensation to be given to the shareholders was referred to the arbitration of three Swiss jurists, who issued their award, giving a much smaller sum than was anticipated. By the Netherlands Company the line was completed from Johannesburg through Pretoria to Komati Poort, on the Portuguese border, when the whole road was opened for traffic. Lourenço Marques, which had previously been a place of little or no importance, now rose to be a thriving seaport town, as through it passed much of the commerce of the South African Republic.

Meantime the Cape government in agreement with the Orange Free State had pushed its line northward through Bloemfontein to the Vaal, and then an arrangement was made with the Netherlands Company to continue it to Johannesburg, which it reached a couple of years before its Delagoa Bay rival. In July, 1895, the formal opening took place of the transcontinental railway from Table Bay to Lourenço Marques, with connections from Port Elizabeth and East London. Subsequently Natal was also linked in, giving Johannesburg connection with no fewer than five seaports.

Since that date a branch line has been constructed to Barberton, and much other railway development has taken place in the republic. Gold has been found in the north as well, in the Zoutpansberg and

Waterberg districts, but nowhere else has mining assumed such proportions as at Witwatersrand.

In 1888 the first presidential term of Mr. Kruger expired. Under his firm administration the republic had enjoyed such freedom from dissension as it had never known before, and certainly he was the very incarnation of the spirit of the great majority of the burghers. He was therefore re-elected by four thousand four hundred and eighty-three votes against eight hundred and thirty-four given to Mr. Pieter Joubert. In the same year President Brand, of the Orange Free State, died, when the chief justice of that republic, Mr. Frederick William Reitz, was elected president by four thousand and seven votes against four hundred and twenty-four given to the rival candidate, the Reverend Mr. Van der Lingen.



## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

## GREAT EXTENSION OF BRITISH DOMINION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE vast territory that extends from the Limpopo to the Zambesi was before 1888 in pretty much the same condition as that between the Limpopo and the Vaal when the emigrant farmers under Commandant Potgieter entered it. Lobengula, son and successor of Moselekatse, who had fifteen thousand disciplined warriors at his disposal, was lord of all the land that his armies could reach. From his chief kraal of Buluwayo divisions of his forces went out periodically in all directions, according to the established Matabele custom, to gather in any spoil that was to be had. Two circumstances, however, made his government milder than that of Moselekatse had been. The first was the personal character of the chief, who was by no means of a ferocious disposition, and who had learned much from long and close intercourse with Europeans who visited the country. The second was that the army was now principally composed of Betshuana and Makalaka captives, who from burden-bearers had been raised to the rank of soldiers. Comparatively few pure Zulus remained, as the number of women that accompanied Moselekatse in his flight from Tshaka was small, and thus the army had greatly degenerated in courage, for the Makalaka especially were poor specimens of the Bantu family.

In the scramble for African soil then taking place

among the European nations, this territory could not long be overlooked. A great part of it consists of a plain over four thousand feet above the level of the sea, enjoying an excellent climate, where white people can not only live, but thrive and multiply. Here were those mysterious ruins, showing that at some distant period of the world's history Asiatic conquerors ruled the land. Here were vast numbers of long abandoned gold mines, which by means of modern appliances might be turned into sources of wealth, for at the water level all ancient working ceased. Here was a country in which almost anything could be cultivated, and where cattle-breeding on a very large scale was practicable. Whose was it to be? South Africa had become too small for such a system as that of the Matabele to continue longer. What power was to take their place, to purge the land from the rule of the assagai, to enable the miserable remnants of a hundred tribes to come down from their abodes on almost inaccessible mountain tops, and to replace the darkest barbarism with the light of European civilisation?

The Right Honourable Cecil John Rhodes answered this question. The Portuguese indeed claimed to have dominion under international law over a very large portion of it, derived from their missionary and trading settlements in Eastern Mashonaland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but not an individual of their nation resided on any part of the high plateau in 1888. The people of the South African Republic regarded it as their natural field of expansion, but they were too few in number to take possession of it then and permanently occupy it. From the west, through Damaraland, a little expedition, or even a single individual, might

any day enter the country and make arrangements that would for ever cut off the Cape Colony from the interior of Africa, by bringing the territory under the German flag.

Early in 1888 a treaty was concluded between the British government and Lobengula for the exclusion of foreign influence, which was the first step towards occupation. The next step was taken in November of the same year, when a mining concession was obtained from the chief by Messrs. Rudd, Maguire, and Thompson. Other concessions were subsequently obtained, and were united by the amalgamating genius of Mr. Rhodes into the privileges of a single association, for which on the 29th of October, 1889, a royal charter was granted. Whether it would not have been better for the imperial government to have taken possession of the country and established direct authority in it need not be discussed, because the ministry was averse to anything of the kind, and it was thus the British South Africa Chartered Company or nothing.

The charter provided for the establishment of a board of eight directors, three of whom were to be appointed by the crown and five by the shareholders in the Company. Power fully equal to that granted to the Transvaal government by the Convention of Pretoria was given to this directorate, and it was not hampered by restrictions of so irritating a nature. The territory in which it was to act was not strictly defined. Mr. Rhodes was appointed managing director, which in effect gave him complete control of the whole undertaking.

A strong armed force was now raised, which left the Cape Colony in March, 1890, and under the guidance of the celebrated hunter, Mr. Frederick

Courtenay Selous, passed far to the eastward of the Matabele kraals, and established a line of military posts—Tuli, Victoria, Charter, and Salisbury—in Mashonaland. Prospecting for gold was then commenced, and numerous adventurers from the south arrived in the country. Unfortunately there was a lack of provisions and medical stores for so many immigrants, and as the rains from October to March were unusually heavy, a great deal of discomfort was experienced and many deaths took place. After a few months, however, ample supplies of food and all other necessities reached the posts, and matters took a more favourable turn. Salisbury was selected as the seat of government, and Dr. Leander Starr Jameson fixed his residence there as administrator. A telegraph line was constructed so rapidly that in February, 1892, there was communication with Capetown, and in July of that year building allotments were sold not only in the capital but at Victoria and Umtali. A fair commencement had now been made in the occupation of the country.

Meantime the limits of the Portuguese territory along the coast had been settled, though in a somewhat highhanded manner. In September, 1890, a concession was obtained from the chief Umtasa, residing in Manika, whom the Portuguese claimed as their subject, and when soon afterwards some Portuguese officials visited his kraal they were arrested by Major Forbes and sent as prisoners to Salisbury. This act caused great excitement in Portugal, and volunteers, who eagerly came forward, were sent out with all haste to Beira. The first who arrived proceeded to a station near Umtasa's kraal, and on the 11th of May, 1891, when making a reconnaissance, fell in with a detachment of the

Chartered Company's police. An engagement followed, which resulted in the total defeat of the Portuguese and their precipitate return to the coast. Their camp, stores, and eleven machine guns fell into the hands of the victors. Negotiations between the two governments in Europe followed, and in June a treaty was concluded which fixed the present boundary and provided for the construction of a railway from the border to Beira, at the mouth of the Pungwe River.

The next event of importance was an attempt to settle a portion of the territory by a party of Dutch farmers under the leadership of a man named Adendorff, who had obtained a grant of land from a chief claiming to be independent of Lobengula. This party was ready to cross the Limpopo when Dr. Jameson reached its northern bank with a detachment of the Chartered Company's police, and threatened resistance unless they would acknowledge his authority and declare themselves British subjects. A few consented to do so, and were permitted to pass in, but the greater number declined, and as President Kruger refused to support them they were obliged to retire.

It was evident from the first that peaceful development of the resources of the country was not possible while the Matabele bands were at liberty to make raids whenever they pleased upon the Mashona kraals. Two ruling powers may exist in the same country, if the government is purely tribal, but not two such ruling powers as Lobengula and the Chartered Company. The territory that the chief occupied was indeed attractive, but had it been a desert war would have been just as inevitable. It was brought on by an incident illustrative of barbarian habits.

Some miserable Mashona thieves cut the telegraph wire near Victoria, and took away a piece, probably to make armlets of. They were detected, tried before the European court, and punished by fine, which they paid with cattle stolen from Lobengula. Thereupon the chief sent a regiment to chastise them as he thought they deserved, which meant of course a massacre. Most likely many a white man who had to deal with these Mashona would have had little scruple in using a sembok freely upon them himself, but when on the 9th of July, 1893, a number of them were pursued by Matabele soldiers into the township of Victoria, and stabbed to death there, the Europeans could not look calmly on. A telegraphic message to Dr. Jameson brought him with all speed from Salisbury. On his arrival he ordered the Matabele, who were still on the commonage, to return immediately to Buluwayo, and later in the day directed a detachment of police to compel them to retire. A collision occurred, and eight or ten of the warriors were killed. No European was harmed in person in this affair, but it was necessary to prevent its being repeated, and as Lobengula would give no security or even a promise to act otherwise in future, war was made upon him.

The Chartered Company enrolled two strong bodies of men specially adapted for such service, one of which marched from the south and the other from the east, to join at Buluwayo. The eastern column, under Major Forbes, was twice attacked on its march, but on each occasion was secure in a lager protected by numerous machine guns. The first of these engagements was on the 25th of October at the source of the Shangani River, and the second was on the 1st of November near the source of the Imbembesi. On

both occasions the Matabele attacked with the greatest bravery, but were driven back with terrible loss by the fire from maxim guns and rifles.

Fugitives from the last battle informed the chief of the defeat of his armies, when he set fire to his kraal, and with all the people he could gather together fled northward towards the Zambesi. He had treated the few Europeans in his neighbourhood with the utmost kindness, having assisted some to remove to places of safety and protected others. On the 4th of November the eastern column reached the burnt kraal of Buluwayo, and found there as the only inhabitants two unharmed white traders, whose property even had been respected. Eleven days later the southern column arrived, having had only one skirmish on the way.

Major Forbes then followed the chief, in hope of getting possession of his person. It was not known that he had sent to beg for peace, and had given his envoys a large sum of money to offer as an earnest of his wishes, that these envoys had fallen in with two troopers of the Bechuanaland imperial police, who took message and money, but never delivered either. Surely the empire might be searched in vain for two baser scoundrels than these, whose crime was then undetected. On the morning of the 4th of December an advance party of thirty-four men overtook Lobengula and those with him, who were desperate, as they believed their proposals for peace had been rejected. Major Allan Wilson, who was in command, rode up too close, and the patrol was surrounded and every man killed in a desperate fight. After this disaster Major Forbes, whose supplies were exhausted, returned to Buluwayo, where several headmen were already coming in and tendering submission. On

the 23rd of January, 1894, Lobengula died of fever and distress, and the whole tribe, being thus left without a head, ceased resistance and came under the rule of the Chartered Company.

On the site of Lobengula's kraal a township was laid out, which retained the old native name. In July several hundred building lots were sold in it by auction, and brought an average price of over five hundred dollars each. Substantial buildings, public and private, rose rapidly, and soon a stately European town was standing where the Matabele huts had erstwhile been seen. Another township was laid out at Gwelo, in the centre of a district believed to be rich in gold mines, but its growth was slow compared with that of Buluwayo.

Though six years have passed away since these events, it is impossible yet to state what the mining prospects of Rhodesia, as the Chartered Company's territory south of the Zambesi is named, really are. No machinery of importance could be conveyed into the country until the construction of railways. These were pushed on as rapidly as possible, and a line was opened in November, 1897, connecting Buluwayo with Capetown, thirteen hundred and sixty miles distant, passing through Mafeking, Vryburg, and Kimberley; but it is not yet fully completed to Gwelo. From Beira, on the Portuguese coast, to Salisbury, a distance of three hundred and eighty miles, a line was opened in May, 1899. A long drought in 1895 was followed by the ravages of immense swarms of locusts, and these by an outbreak of rinderpest among horned cattle, which put an end for a time to ox-wagon traffic.

Next came an insurrection of the natives, caused by the belief that the white men were sorcerers and



had brought on these troubles, and made possible by Dr. Jameson's removal of the police force of the country for his raid into the South African Republic. During the night of the 24th of March, 1896, the Matabele rose and began to murder the scattered white people wherever they could be found. The Mashona clans followed their example, and the rising became general. All the Europeans who could not escape to towns or laagers were cut off, but strong forces were soon in the field, and in every engagement that took place the barbarians were defeated. In August Mr. Rhodes, with fearlessness approaching rashness, met the Matabele leaders in the Matopo hills, and arranged terms of peace with them, but the Mashona insurgents did not submit until some months later. This insurrection cost the lives of over four hundred Europeans, and nearly two hundred others received wounds more or less severe.

All these circumstances, added to the high taxation of the Chartered Company upon prospecting for metals, retarded the development of mining industry, still the output of gold reached 15,804 ounces in 1898, and was rising very rapidly in 1899, when the outbreak of the present war again interrupted its progress. Coal is abundant in the country, and silver, copper, iron, and several other metals have been found.

The outbreak of rinderpest destroyed cattle-breeding for a time, but pastoral pursuits will to a certainty be carried on largely in the future. Agriculture has succeeded as far as it has been tried, and fruit, grain, and vegetables of nearly every kind can be cultivated wherever the surface is adapted for the plough, as the rainfall during the summer months is usually ample. Unfortunately very few, if any,

British immigrants of the present day care to pursue that occupation. Some Dutch families have settled on farms, and only the recent political troubles have prevented a very considerable number from becoming residents in Rhodesia.

The government has of late undergone important changes. In April, 1896, Earl Grey became administrator, Dr. Jameson having lost that office through his raid into the South African Republic. In 1898 an order in council was issued, which greatly modified the Company's political power. The high commissioner, as representing the crown, has now almost supreme control over legislative and administrative matters, and a resident imperial commissioner is stationed at Salisbury to correspond with him. There is an administrator at Salisbury, for Mashonaland, and another at Buluwayo, for Matabeleland. A legislative council, consisting of seven officials and four elected members—two each for Matabeleland and Mashonaland—holds its sessions at Salisbury. The officer in command of the police force—a body of about twelve hundred men—is appointed by the imperial government. The Company defrays costs of administration in excess of the public revenue. It is evident that this is only a transition form of government, and there is already a desire on the part of the settlers for perfect representative institutions.

The country is divided into several European magistracies, and into twenty-nine districts in each of which there is an officer in charge of the natives. There is a high court, from which an appeal in important civil cases can be made to the supreme court of the Cape Colony. Order is well preserved, and justice is within the reach of every one as much as in any part of the empire.

Beyond the Zambesi the Chartered Company has acquired rights over an enormous territory, extending to the border of the Congo Free State, but with that this volume has not to deal.

Between Rhodesia and the German territory, from the Molopo River and Ramathlabama Spruit on the south to the Botletle River on the north, lies what is termed the British Protectorate. It is the least valuable part of South Africa, and is thinly inhabited by the Betshuana tribes under the chiefs Khama, Sebele, Bathoen, and some others. In 1885 these chiefs voluntarily accepted British supremacy, but continue to govern their own people without interference, as before. The London Missionary Society has had agents working here for more than half a century, and under their guidance many of the people have made a considerable advance towards civilisation and have embraced the doctrines of Christianity. The chiefs are the most enlightened native rulers in South Africa. The Protectorate is divided into two districts, in each of which a British official is stationed, who has magisterial authority over European and other inhabitants not subjects of the chiefs, and who also controls the relationship of the tribes to each other. A resident commissioner receives instructions from, and corresponds with, the high commissioner in Capetown, who represents the crown as supreme ruler. The railway from Capetown to Buluwayo passes near Kanye, Molopolole, and Palapye, the residences of the three chiefs above named. The district of Tati, where a gold mine is worked, is also included in the Protectorate, because the proprietors of the mine had earlier rights than the Chartered Company and objected to come under its government.

The only territory south of the Zambesi that now

remained free of European control was the little strip of land along the eastern coast between the Portuguese possessions and Zululand. In April and May, 1895, it was taken possession of by Great Britain, and on the 31st of December, 1897, together with Zululand it was incorporated with and became part of the colony of Natal.

South Africa was thus divided between Great Britain, Germany, Portugal, and the two republics, the first named power possessing by far the greatest extent of territory and the most important interests.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

EVENTS IN THE CAPE COLONY DURING THE LAST  
TWENTY YEARS.

DURING the last twenty years the Cape Colony has made great advances in material prosperity, though there have been many and serious checks to its progress. There was first an unsuccessful war with the Basuto tribe, which cost from fifteen to twenty million dollars of public money. From 1868 to 1871 the Lesuto was nominally governed by an agent of the high commissioner, but in reality the three principal sons of Moshesh ruled the tribe. Fortunately for the European officials they were so jealous of each other that combination was impossible, and Letsie, the highest in rank of the three, was a man of such little force of character that he leant upon British support against his brothers Molapo and Masupha. In 1871 the country was annexed to the Cape Colony, and was thereafter governed in the same way as other purely native districts. The chiefs were subsidised, and were accorded many privileges, but jurisdiction in criminal cases was legally taken from them. Colonel Griffith, a man of high ability, was stationed at Maseru as chief magistrate, and a number of subordinate magistrates were placed in the different districts into which the territory was divided. Great efforts were made to educate the people, and to lead them forward in the path of civilisation.

After the Zulu war it was considered advisable by the Cape government to disarm the natives under its jurisdiction, for the sake of preserving peace. All the tribes in South Africa had been arming, by sending their young men to the diamond mines, where guns were openly sold, with instructions from the chiefs that each one was to bring back a weapon. The republican governments had protested against the trade, but in vain. It was asserted that a sufficient number of native labourers could not be obtained to work the mines unless the temptation of becoming possessors of guns was held out to them, and that a man with a gun which he could not use properly was less dangerous as an enemy than the same man with an assagai which he could deftly wield. That might be true, but the possession of guns certainly gave a native tribe a spirit for war that it would not have had without them.

The Basuto among others were now called upon to surrender their guns upon being paid the full value of them, and they refused to do so. Force was brought against them, and they resisted, Lerothodi, son of Letsie, Masupha, and Joel, son of Molapo, taking the lead. The war lasted during a great part of the years 1880 and 1881, and in the end the colony was unsuccessful in maintaining its authority. It caused the downfall of Sir Gordon Sprigg's ministry, and in May, 1881, Sir Thomas Scanlen took office. Negotiations with the imperial government were opened, with the result that in March, 1884, the Lesuto again became a direct dependency of the crown, which it remains to the present day. A resident commissioner, who receives his instructions from the high commissioner in Capetown, resides at Maseru, and under his authority are six magistrates who

deal with any cases brought before them. The Cape treasury is under obligation to contribute \$86,400 yearly towards the revenue, but from that has been deducted since 1891 whatever amount might be due to Basutoland as a member of the customs union.

In 1880 some Tembu and Pandomisi clans in the territory below the Drakensberg rose in rebellion, and a few white men were murdered in a very treacherous manner. But within four months from the commencement of the outbreak it was completely suppressed.

From that time until 1896 there were no native disturbances of any consequence. Towards the close of that year the Batlapin, the most degraded of all the Bantu tribes, with some other clans living on the border of the Kalahari, north of the Orange, set themselves against the government. At first it was not considered possible that they could successfully resist a strong body of police, but the nature of their country was such that military operations were exceedingly difficult in it, and shortly large volunteer forces were sent to aid in suppressing the insurrection. For eight or nine months hostilities were carried on, at a cost to the country of over two million dollars, and when it was suppressed the wretched insurgents were thrown upon the hands of the government as paupers without food. Under these circumstances they were required to take service on farms, a measure which was not approved of by the whole of the missionaries, but as precautions were taken to secure their good treatment and they themselves entered willingly into contracts rather than be tried for rebellion, it is not easy to see what better course could have been adopted with regard to them.

The failure of the Union and Cape of Good Hope

banks in 1890, owing to rash advances on gold-mining shares, brought severe pecuniary trouble to a large number of people.

Long droughts in some parts of the colony caused much distress, particularly in 1895 and 1896, and the damage done by locusts has more than once occasioned widespread loss. Then came the rinderpest, which ravaged all South Africa a few years ago, and swept off cattle worth many millions of dollars. Add to these the destruction of the orange groves of the west by the dorthesia before an insect enemy was discovered and brought from America to exterminate it, and the ravages of the phylloxera which are necessitating the entire replanting of the vineyards with stocks grafted on roots that can resist it, and it will be seen that the colony has had to contend with serious troubles.

These, however, have been more than counter-balanced by improvements. Railways have been constructed to an extent that would have been deemed incredible twenty years ago. Besides the main lines from the three ports of Table Bay, Algoa Bay, and East London to Buluwayo—soon to Gwelo—in one direction, and to Port Natal or Delagoa Bay in another, there are various branch lines to important centres of trade. The railways in the colony, with some trifling exceptions, are the property of the government, constructed with money obtained on loan, chiefly in England, and the receipts for traffic form part of the public revenue. They are of a uniform gauge of three feet six inches. The carriages are in compartments, as in England, with side doors. The rate of speed is necessarily much lower than on the broad gauge American lines, and some of the gradients are steep and the curves short, especially in



mountain passes. But the difference between a train running twenty-four miles an hour and a passenger coach is very great, and still greater is the difference between a goods train at fifteen miles an hour and an ox-waggon at fifteen miles a day. Thus great development in traffic of every kind has resulted from the construction of railways within the colony, apart from the transport of goods and passengers to and from the territories beyond the border.

The marine works which have made Table Bay one of the best and safest ports in the world, with a dry dock of the first order for repairing ships, have done much for the progress of the colony. So have other works at East London, where formerly ships lay at anchor in an open roadstead and discharged and took in cargo by means of surfboats, and where now they lie along quays within the river as securely as in the docks at Brooklyn, and are unladen by steam cranes into railway trucks, as is the case also at Port Natal in the sister colony. The coast, along which steamships and sailing vessels are constantly passing, is well lit, and accidents now rarely occur.

The colony has been covered with a network of telegraph wires, as one of the necessities of modern civilisation. Three lines of under-sea cables, one on the east and two on the west coast, connect it so closely with all parts of the world that anything of importance which occurs in Capetown is known on the same day in Melbourne, London, and Montreal.

Magnificent steamships, only inferior in size to the largest that cross the Atlantic, and not inferior even to these in provision for the comfort of travellers, leave Table Bay weekly, and speed to Southampton, six thousand miles distant, often in less than sixteen days. Hundreds of tons of letters, newspapers, lit-

erature of all kinds, and small parcels of merchandise are constantly on the way backward and forward in these mailships, and for two cents one can send greetings from the most remote hamlet in the colony to a friend at the other extremity of the empire. Four or five other lines of steamers are constantly plying between England and the Cape with passengers and merchandise, usually taking from twenty to twenty-four days from departure to arrival.

Large sections of the colony are without surface water, and as the natural drainage is perfect, such areas were formerly regarded as waste. Of late years the construction of artificial reservoirs has made great progress, and it has been found that water may be had in abundance in many localities by sinking artesian wells. Wherever an igneous dike crosses a sedimentary deposit more or less inclined, fountains can be opened by means of drills, and to this the government has recently paid much attention with excellent results.

Fruit culture, notwithstanding the invasion of many insect pests, has made considerable progress in the south-western districts, and Cape peaches, plums, and grapes, though still in very small quantities, can now be had in London in the early months of the year.

The fisheries on the coast, particularly on the great Agulhas bank, are being rapidly developed. Twenty years ago the only fish eaten in the colony were caught either by seines along the shore or by hooks cast from open boats. An American schooner that secured a cargo of mackerel by improved methods drew attention to what might be done, and the government got out a steam trawler which proved that a great source of wealth had been lying

unheeded within easy reach of all the southern ports.

During this period the school system of the colony has been greatly extended, and has been adapted to meet the wants even of the scattered farming population. A government grant sufficiently large to attract a qualified lady teacher can now be obtained on every homestead where a few children can be gathered together. Every village is provided with a good primary school, and in the towns educational advantages are equal to those of any part of the empire. There are numerous colleges of high standing in the colony, among which are institutions for the training of theological students and for the acquirement of knowledge in matters pertaining to agriculture. Above the whole is a university, established by royal charter in August, 1877, with the power of conferring degrees. It is purely an examining body, but has many studentships at its disposal, as it has been richly endowed.

The education of coloured children is chiefly carried on by missionaries of almost every Christian denomination, who receive grants from the government for meeting the teachers' salaries. The schools are subject to inspection by an official of the educational department, and if they are found in proper working order the grant is made, without any distinction whatever between religious bodies, Catholic or any variety of Protestant. Every year, however, it is becoming more evident that upon industrial rather than upon literary training the future welfare of this class of the population depends. The difficulty is how to carry out industrial training without some form of compulsion, a difficulty that no one has yet been able to devise means to sur-

mount. There are high schools or colleges for these people also, the most important of which are the Lovedale Institution, established by the Free Church of Scotland, and the Healdtown Institution, established by the Wesleyan Church, both aided by government grants.

These institutions have produced not a few Bantu who have proved that here and there an individual of this race is capable of attaining a high intellectual position. Mr. Tengo Jabavu, editor of a Kaffir newspaper at King-Williamstown, educated at Healdtown, writes an article in either English or Kaffir that any one can read with pleasure; Mr. William Seti, educated at Lovedale, is a most efficient and trustworthy clerk in a public office; Mr. John Knox Bokwe, educated at Lovedale, can keep a ledger as well as any European and has composed some plaintive airs for hymns and songs; and these names might easily be extended to twenty or thirty.

But there is another side to this narrative of individual progress. There is a very strong national feeling in all, or nearly all, of the educated Bantu, for which they cannot be blamed, but which is not so friendly as could be wished towards European control. A couple of instances that have just occurred will illustrate this. The Reverend Mr. Dwane, educated at Healdtown, an ordained clergyman of the Wesleyan Church, was placed in charge of a native congregation in Tembuland. Resenting even the slight European guidance to which he was subject, he seceded, and formed a new connection with an African church in the Southern States. The Reverend Mr. Pambani Mzimba, educated at Lovedale, was an ordained clergyman of the Free Church of Scotland, in charge of a native congrega-

tion. There was not even a shadow of European control in his case, only a possibility of being outvoted by Europeans at a presbytery meeting. Yet he too has seceded from the church to which he owed his position, and set up an independent African religious community. This spirit may easily become dangerous when it extends from church to state.

Another feature of the educated native is that in most instances unless he is placed at once in a good position he becomes surly, and broods over fancied wrongs sustained from the European community. With abundance of conceit, but devoid of perseverance, he does not attempt to qualify himself for some useful occupation, but goes about discontented or gives way to intemperance. It is possible that this class of man may prove troublesome in the future. They are certainly neither so useful to their race nor so comfortable and cheerful in their own lives as those who have had a good training in manual labour on a farm.

In connection with education the public libraries of the colony may be mentioned. There is hardly a village, and not a town of any importance, without one. The government contributes as much to the maintenance of each as is locally subscribed, and the libraries are open to any one of good behaviour, though only subscribers are allowed to take out books. Many of them, for instance those of Grahamstown, Kimberley, and Port Elizabeth, would be creditable to any provincial town in England, while the one in Capetown, termed by way of excellence the South African Public Library, is a really noble institution, having been enriched by many valuable donations, notably that of Sir George Grey. It is specially subsidised by government.

Of late years many fine buildings have been erected in all the large towns of the colony. Stone and brick are the materials universally used, as wood is not suited to the climate. Some of the streets of Capetown or of Port Elizabeth would not be out of place in any European capital. Hardly a town of any consequence is without a botanic garden, or a park with shady trees and fountains, maintained by the municipal authorities. Perhaps the most unpleasant feature of the interior towns and villages is the general use of galvanised iron for roofing, which adds to the glare and heat, but is fireproof and durable.

The introduction of responsible government, here as everywhere else, has had as a consequence the division of the people into parties. For several years this was hardly noticeable, but the annexation of the South African Republic in 1877 created a feeling which had as its result the formation of a political party known as the Afrikaner Bond. This association had branches in the Orange Free State, but in the colony its aim was in no sense hostile to British interests, though it certainly desired home rule to as large an extent as is possible in a dependency and the cultivation of the closest friendship with the republics. Its leader proposed at the colonial conference the imposition of preferential customs duties in favour of British commerce, and its representatives in parliament without a dissentient voice in 1898 voted for a yearly grant of \$144,000 from the colonial treasury towards the maintenance of the British navy. But while it professed thorough loyalty to the Queen and the empire, it desired to carry out Dutch ideas in the colony. Composed mainly of farmers, it supported

what it believed to be the interests of agriculture and cattle-breeding rather than that of commerce, and hence favoured high duties upon imported breadstuffs and meat, though since the opening of the diamond mines the country has never been able to produce its own food.

It must always be remembered that the loyalty of a people such as the Dutch colonists, whose fathers in 1854 became British subjects through an act of their hereditary ruler, without their own consent being asked or obtained, and who afterwards saw their institutions swept away and replaced by others less congenial to their ideas, cannot be exactly the same as that of a man whose ancestors for a thousand years have lived on English soil. It is a loyalty born not of sentiment, but of advantages, similar to that of the French in Canada, and among those advantages home rule has the highest place. The members of the Afrikaner Bond would fight with and for Great Britain against any other power in the world except one composed of people of their own blood, because they believe that under no other power would they enjoy the same liberty as under the English flag. It would probably be much the same with the French in Quebec, and it would be unreasonable to expect more from them. The Bond resolved to be as strong as possible in parliament, but not to assume the responsibility of government, and it has thus always aimed to control the ministry though not to put its leaders in office.

At different times attempts have been made to form a solid opposing party, but they were not successful until quite recently, when the South African League was established. This party is as English in its principles as the other is Dutch, and between

the two the same feeling exists as between extreme liberals and extreme conservatives in England. Outside of both these is a body of men of moderate opinions, Dutch and English as well as those of mixed blood, whose efforts are mainly directed towards conciliation, but they are gradually being forced by circumstances to take one side or the other. There is no room in South Africa for such men now.

During these years the number of members of parliament has been considerably increased, and the qualifications for voters have been altered. In 1882 two additional members in the house of assembly were given to Kimberley, and in 1887 the two new electoral divisions of Tembuland and Griqualand East were created, each to return one member to that chamber.

In 1892 the franchise was raised, owing to the peculiar circumstances of the colony in regard to the large native population. In some districts there was danger of the European votes being swamped at no distant period by the votes of barbarians who had no conception of the nature of representative government, but who possessed the qualifications of electors and could be led to the poll by the man of most influence among them. It was not a question between the different sections of Europeans, for the Bantu could not be depended upon by one more than the other. The ballot system of voting was therefore introduced, and the elector was required to write his name, address, and occupation, in addition to which the franchise was restricted to men who had either occupied during the previous twelvemonth property worth \$360 or who had been in continuous receipt of a salary or wages amounting to \$240 a year.



In 1893 the ministerial department of the secretary for agriculture was created and the office of secretary for native affairs was combined with that of prime minister, so that the cabinet still consisted of five members, as before.

In 1895 the crown colony of British Bechuanaland was incorporated with the Cape Colony, in accordance with the view that one large and strong country under a single government is preferable to a confederation of smaller and weaker provinces. The annexation act provided that British Bechuanaland should return one member to the legislative council, and be divided into two electoral districts, of which one, named Vryburg, should return two members to the house of assembly, and the other, named Mafeking, should return one.

In 1898 a number of new seats were created in the house of assembly. This measure was forced on by the League party in the belief that by a redistribution of constituencies its power would be increased, but the result, as proved by the elections that followed, was considerably in favour of the Bond. To constituencies already existing were given: Port Elizabeth, two more members; Capetown, George, Worcester, Tembuland, and Griqualand East, each one more member. The Cape district was divided into two, Wynberg and Woodstock, each entitled to return two members. And the following new districts were created: Jansenville, to return two members, and Cathcart, Humansdorp, Middelburg, Prieska, and Simonstown, each to return one.

The legislative council now consists of twenty-three members elected by nine provinces, and the house of assembly of ninety-five members elected by forty-six divisions.

## CHAPTER XL.

## STRIFE IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

THE discovery of gold at Witwatersrand brought into the South African Republic a large European population differing widely in thought as well as in manner of living from the farmers who called the country their own. Men with ideas of the close of the nineteenth century were brought into a condition of dependency upon others whose views were those of the seventeenth, and naturally they could not agree. It was inevitable that a struggle should sooner or later take place, which could have but one ending.

For a few years this was not so evident as it is now. The farmers, who were as incompetent as people well could be to develop the mineral wealth of the country, were pleased to sell their ground at prices that seemed to them almost fabulous, and to move to other parts where they could live in their own cherished way. It was generally supposed that before those who were then in their cradles were fullgrown men and women the gold-bearing reefs would be exhausted, when the strangers would seek other lands to display their marvellous energy in. In the meantime, while it lasted, as much of the wealth as possible should be secured, for it belonged of right to the country. But with new discoveries, and particularly with the development of mining to great depths, these anticipations were

found to be erroneous, and the position had to be faced that a large and unsympathetic body of men would be resident in the republic for a long time to come.

To the farmers' way of thinking it would be suicidal to admit these men to full political privileges, because if they had power they would subvert the existing institutions, and even if the country should remain a separate and independent state, it would be no longer a republic such as its founders had made it. They became impressed with fear that either Great Britain would take possession of the country again, or that the foreigners would by some means or other endeavour to get the upper hand in the government. President Kruger, whose influence was supreme among them because he was so thorough an embodiment of their spirit, had this fear constantly before his eyes, and all his actions were guided by it. Unfortunately, however, though he was possessed of many high qualities, he was not gifted with the wisdom and prudence so much needed in the difficult position which he occupied. President Brand would have acted very differently.

Instead of attempting to conciliate the strangers who were appearing in ever-increasing numbers, the republican government acted in a high-handed manner towards them. Probably if matters had been made easy, they, or at least the English section of them, would never have striven to obtain the franchise, for few would have cared to renounce their rights as subjects of a world-wide empire in order to become citizens of a little state which they did not look upon as their permanent home. But the granting of monopolies of various kinds, especially one for the manufacture of dynamite, an article indis-

pensable for mining, and the heavy duties on imported provisions, led the strangers to believe that their only method of obtaining relief was to acquire power in the legislature. Of course they did not all think alike, and it must be borne in mind when speaking of either side in this contest that only a prevailing majority is meant.

National feeling tended very greatly to widen the breach thus created. The old farmers were not given to boasting, it was even difficult to get them to speak at all about their successes in the short war that led to the convention of Pretoria, which they attributed to the hand of the Almighty, not to their own prowess. But many young men, particularly striplings from other parts of South Africa, were addicted to the use of exasperating language and taunting references to Lang's Nek and Majuba Hill. Our countrymen were in no wise behind in this respect either. Language that would be regarded as immoderately loyal in London or Bristol was used without stint by press and people at Johannesburg, and so far did this feeling go that in 1890 when President Kruger visited that city he was greeted with "Rule Britannia" and the flag of the republic was hauled down and torn to pieces almost before his eyes. Naturally the burghers regarded this ebullition of feeling as we should regard the tearing down of the union jack and the singing of the "Marseillaise" if the Queen were to visit a street occupied by Frenchmen in London. The government was particularly sensitive on the point of its dignity, and here it was treated with disrespect and contumely. So bad feeling was accentuated on both sides, and many men who would not have quarrelled on other grounds took part in the strife on purely national lines.

To prevent the strangers from obtaining political power, President Kruger and the great body of the farmers who acted under his guidance resolved to alter the franchise. Before 1877 a single year's residence in the republic gave any European a right to vote at all elections. But in 1882, in consequence of the part the townspeople had taken in welcoming Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the volksraad raised the period of residence to five years and arranged the constituencies so that the urban votes should be included in those of the districts. This was the system when the Witwatersrand gold fields were discovered.

In 1890, before any considerable number of names could be added to the voters' list, a great change was made. A second volksraad was created, which might be termed an advisory rather than a legislative body, as its functions were limited and its acts could be overruled by the first volksraad. An alien two years after his name was registered by a fieldcornet could become naturalised and vote for members of this second volksraad. To obtain a seat in it, however, it was requisite that he should be thirty years of age, a member of a Protestant church, an owner of property in the republic, and a naturalised burgher of two years' standing. Before he could vote for the president, commandant-general, or a member of the first volksraad, it was made necessary that he should possess the qualifications for a seat in the second volksraad for ten years.

Thus no foreigner could obtain full burgher rights until he had been fourteen years resident in the country and was forty years of age, nor could he even then if he had not registered his name at the beginning of the period with a fieldcornet, whose books

were frequently very carelessly kept. At the same time the first volksraad reserved the power of enfranchising at its pleasure any man or body of men for special services, so that practically it could admit those who would be likely to work with it and keep out those who would not.

In 1893 a numerously signed petition in favour of the reduction of this franchise was sent from Johannesburg, but was rejected by the first volksraad. It was followed in 1894 by another to the same effect, with over thirty-five thousand names attached to it. That many of these names were spurious, however, is certain, though what number were really genuine cannot be stated. At any rate this monster petition could not fail to alarm the government, as a keenly contested presidential election had recently taken place, in which Mr. Kruger, who was returned for the third time, had been opposed by General Joubert, and the whole number of votes cast for both candidates did not amount to fifteen thousand. Were there then actually many more adult male foreigners than burghers in the country? asked every one. So in place of lowering the franchise it was made even more difficult to obtain, by providing that at the end of the fourteen years' residence the applicant should be obliged to obtain the consent in writing of a majority of the burghers of the ward in which he resided and should also be approved of by the president and the executive council. Children born in the republic were to have the status of their fathers, so that the son of an alien would have to go through the same process of naturalisation when he became of age.

This enactment removed from the British residents in the country all hope of being able to obtain legislative power by peaceable means. It is but right,

however, to add that the greater number of them never had any intention of becoming burghers of the republic in the same sense that the farmers were, no matter how short the period of residence necessary for naturalisation might have been made. What they really wanted was the right of voting, without their ceasing to be British subjects except during the period of their residence in the country, and there can be no question that they would not have consented to perform burgher duties. In a war which the republic was obliged to wage against a chief named Malaboch some of them were called out for military service. Four or five refused to comply with the order, and so great was the excitement and so violent was the opposition to the government that Lord Loch, the high commissioner, went to Pretoria to settle matters. Upon his remonstrances on the ground that the men called out were not citizens of the republic, they were released from the order; but the opinion was generally expressed at Johannesburg that this system of carrying on war was most objectionable, whether the persons required to take up arms were burghers or aliens.

The complaints of the mining population against the government were so many that it is impossible in this volume to mention more than the principal of them. They asserted that they had found the country practically in a condition little short of bankruptcy, and had raised it to great wealth, yet they had no voice in the public expenditure, nor were their wants attended to. The revenue of the republic in 1884, they pointed out, was only \$775,000, and through them in 1894 it had risen to \$10,789,000, which was far in excess of the public needs.

Owing to the excessive charges for dynamite aris-

ing from its manufacture and sale being a monopoly, the high rates of carriage charged by the railway company, and the import duties on provisions, the cost of mining was so great that only rich ores could be worked with profit. The companies were obliged to pay their European labourers on an average over \$1,500 a year as wages, and their native labourers \$15 a month and food. If dynamite, provisions, and transport, particularly of coal, were cheaper, working expenses and wages could be so reduced that it would be possible to open many more mines. This complaint, as is evident, was confined to a small section of the community.

Unwilling to recognise that they were in a foreign country, the British residents were greatly irritated by Dutch alone being used as the official language and the chief medium of instruction in the public schools.

They protested against the insecurity of the tenure under which they held their property, as a simple resolution of the first volksraad, in which they were not represented, could override the constitution and all other law.

While admitting that there were many exemplary officials whose conduct was above reproach, they declared that corruption prevailed to a very large extent, not only in the subordinate offices of the administration, but in the volksraad itself. Coupled with this they charged the government with making use of a secret service fund altogether too great in proportion to the amount of revenue openly accounted for, and with recklessly squandering public funds.

They complained that they were not even permitted to have proper municipal government, to the



want of which they attributed the high death rate in Johannesburg, a city that under modern sanitary regulations should be one of the most healthy in the world.

They stated that they were debarred by law from the right of public meeting, and that neither their lives nor liberties were safe, because only burghers could be jurymen, and in the excited condition of the country any of them, though innocent, accused of a political offence could not expect a fair verdict.

They complained of being menaced by force, as orders for cannon and other munitions of war had been sent to Europe, and very large sums were about to be expended in fortifying Pretoria and Johannesburg with the object of overawing them.

On the part of the republic explanations and contradictions have been given to these and many other statements of grievances, by comparing its taxation with that of other countries, notably with that of the United States, Canada, and the Cape Colony, showing that its tariff upon the necessaries of life was more moderate on an average than any of these; demonstrating that nowhere else was taxation upon everything pertaining to mining industry lower; classing the Cape government railways as equally grasping with those of the Netherlands South African Company in the endeavour to make as much as possible out of Johannesburg; asserting that the president and the volksraad were anxious to introduce reforms as soon as was consistent with safety; and generally with regard to the restrictive legislation that it was necessary to maintain the independence of the state. By independence is here meant the retention of the control of the government by those who then possessed that power, as opposed to the

country becoming either a British dependency or an English republic, one of which would be just as distasteful as the other to men like President Kruger.

At this time, in 1895, an event took place which caused much friction between the governments at Pretoria and at Capetown. To favour the introduction of goods through Delagoa Bay, a very high rate of carriage was imposed on the section of the Cape line between Johannesburg and the Vaal River, that is the part within the South African Republic and consequently under the control of the Netherlands Company. By the Cape Colony this was naturally regarded as a most unfriendly act, and all parties were agreed that it should in some way be frustrated. Goods were therefore conveyed from the colonial ports by rail to the southern bank of the Vaal River, where they were transferred to ox wagons and sent on to their destination. Upon this President Kruger took the unwise step of proclaiming the fords—or drifts as termed in South Africa—of the Vaal closed to traffic. This is a common practice where a bridge is built, or a pontoon provided, and a toll is levied, but there was no reason whatever for closing these drifts except to compel the payment of excessive charges by the train or to divert the traffic altogether. The imperial government regarded the president's action as a breach of the convention of London, and a demand, in which the Cape authorities concurred, was made that he should withdraw his proclamation. This he did, rather than run the risk of hostilities in which he would not have had the sympathy of any one beyond his borders.

Towards the close of 1895 the leading men of the

dissatisfied party at Johannesburg, who had formed themselves into an association termed the National Union, resolved to attempt to gain by force what they had failed to obtain by petition. Unfortunately for himself, most unfortunately for South Africa, the Right Honourable Cecil John Rhodes allied himself secretly with this party. He was at the time beyond all comparison the most powerful man in the country, fertile in large ideas, managing director of the British South Africa Company, of De Beer's Diamond Mining Company, and of the Consolidated Goldfields Company, each a position of enormous influence; he had been since July, 1890, also prime minister of the Cape Colony, and commanded a very large majority of the Dutch as well as the English votes in both houses. How a man of his clear intellect came to take the part that he did in the transactions that followed is a mystery not even yet explained, though much has been written on the subject.

But whatever his views were in favouring a scheme that might have been almost as fatal to his grand plans for the advancement of South Africa if it proved successful as if it should fail, Mr. Rhodes became the strongest ally of the National Union at Johannesburg, and not only contributed liberally to its funds, but undertook to aid it with the armed force of the Chartered Company, which has ever since been regarded as the most objectionable part of the whole proceeding.

A plan was now formed to convey rifles, ammunition, and even maxim guns and other fieldpieces, secretly to Johannesburg. Dr. Jameson, the administrator of Rhodesia, was to collect a strong force of armed and mounted police at and near Mafeking,

under pretence of protecting the railway from an apprehended attack by natives, and when all was ready, upon receiving information from the National Union, was to make a rapid march to the gold fields. Just as he was setting out, the arsenal at Pretoria, a poorly guarded and weak structure, was to be seized in the night, and such of its contents as could not be immediately forwarded to Johannesburg by the railway, which was also to be seized, were to be destroyed. By this the government would be left without artillery, and with the arrival of Dr. Jameson it was supposed that nine or ten thousand men could be assembled under arms. The high commissioner, Lord Rosmead, who a few months previously had succeeded Lord Loch, was then to be invited to mediate, in order to prevent bloodshed, when it was anticipated that the government would be compelled to yield to all demands.

Whether there was ever any possibility of this scheme proving successful is no longer an open question. The Dutch as well as the English in the Cape Colony, and at least a large proportion of the inhabitants of the Orange Free State, sympathised with the people of Johannesburg in their desire for a reformation of the existing condition of things, but war upon the republic by an armed force from beyond the border would at once have swept all such feeling from the breasts of the great majority of South Africans. What could ten thousand men, most of them unpractised in shooting though with rifles in their hands, then have done? Without firing a shot, the farmers could have guarded the railways and starved them into submission.

But in point of fact the National Union did not succeed in getting more than three thousand rifles

smuggled into Johannesburg when a contention arose as to the flag they were to rally under. They had professed all along that what they desired was to substitute for an oligarchy a pure republic, in which they should have equal rights with the farmers, but now some were desirous of making the country a British possession. Time was lost in discussing this question and in sending messengers to Cape-town to consult Mr. Rhodes and receive his assurances that he would not insist on the British flag, and while this was taking place Dr. Jameson was on the border chafing at the delay.

Nothing was in readiness at Johannesburg when in the evening of Sunday, the 29th of December, 1895, with almost inconceivable rashness he crossed the border with five hundred mounted men and eleven pieces of artillery to make his way to the gold fields one hundred and seventy miles distant. He feared that if his forces remained any longer at Pitsani and Mafeking the republican government would suspect his purpose and prepare to oppose him, and further he believed that the leaders of the National Union were wrangling and wasting time, so that his presence was necessary to force them to take immediate action. He seems to have held the farmers in such light esteem as to imagine that if he could reach his destination all would yet be well.

Intelligence of the invasion spread rapidly, and the farmers hastily saddled and rode, each one instinctively, to the hilly country about twenty miles west of Krugersdorp, through which Dr. Jameson would have to pass. On Tuesday evening he reached that part of the road, and skirmishing commenced, though as yet his opponents were too few in number to bar his passage. But the farther he advanced

the more difficult he found it to force his way through, and at noon on Wednesday, when Krugersdorp was in sight, he found it impossible to get in. Leaving the entrenched hills in front of him, he now turned in another direction, and tried to make a detour to Johannesburg. But it was useless, the force to which he was opposed could move as rapidly as his own, and was every hour increasing in number. In the morning of Thursday, the 2nd of January, 1896, the last attempt to break through was made at Doornkop, and when it failed there was nothing left but to surrender. Commandant Pieter Cronje, who was the leader of the farmers, sent his prisoners to Krugersdorp, whence they were forwarded under escort to Pretoria. The column had lost eighteen killed and about forty wounded in the different engagements.

[NOTE.—I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness for much of the information in this chapter and the next to Dr. A. Hillier's volume *Raid and Reform*, Mr. J. P. Fitzpatrick's volume *The Transvaal from Within*, and State Secretary Reitz's volume *A Century of Wrong*. My own notes upon the events as they occurred were not as complete as they ought to have been, and the volumes here named contain matter previously unknown.]

## CHAPTER XLI.

STRIFE IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC (*continued*).

ON Monday morning, the 30th of December, 1895, intelligence was received at Johannesburg that Dr. Jameson had set out, when the reform committee, which was composed of the leading members of the National Union, at once recognised that all prospect of the success of the revolution was destroyed. There was now no possibility of seizing the arsenal at Pretoria, and they could not arm more than three thousand men. They took possession of the hills commanding the city, however, and threw up entrenchments, enrolled a strong body of police, and assumed the local government, in hope that by putting on a bold face they would be able to secure from the authorities at Pretoria a part at least of what they desired. Meantime a panic set in among the labouring classes, who, of course, had known nothing of what was in preparation. Great crowds appeared at the railway station, and packed the trains going coastward, some even fighting their way into the carriages and turning out the weaker. A dreadful accident to one of these trains on its way to Durban, by which some forty persons lost their lives, added to the general misery. At the colonial seaports thousands of these refugees, a very large proportion of whom were Cornish miners who had regularly remitted the better part of their wages to their families in England,

and who had no reserve funds, arrived in a condition next to helpless.

An urgent request was made by the reform committee to the high commissioner to visit Pretoria and act as a mediator, in consequence of which he offered his services in that capacity to the republican government, which availed itself of them. In the meantime negotiations were opened with President Kruger, who professed his willingness to concede reforms, and issued a proclamation to that effect, but without making any definite promises. Sir Hercules Robinson—afterwards Lord Rosmead—arrived at Pretoria in the evening of the 4th of January. A few hours before he left Capetown he had received information of the surrender of Dr. Jameson and his band, whose action he had repudiated on behalf of the British government, and whom he had forbidden all British subjects to assist. But they were there before him as prisoners, and as they could not be abandoned to their fate, the task of the high commissioner was a particularly difficult one.

On the morning of Monday the 6th he had an interview with the president and the executive council. Sir Hercules was ill and feeble in body, and the strain was almost too great for him. The president and his advisers were firm. Johannesburg, they said, must lay down its arms unconditionally as a precedent to any discussion or consideration of grievances: if this were not done before four o'clock the next afternoon the city would be attacked; if it were, Dr. Jameson and his party would be handed over to him to be dealt with by the British authorities. To this kind of *mediation* the disastrous result of the raid had reduced Her Majesty's high commissioner. The reform committee, fearing for



the safety of the prisoners in Pretoria, and recognising the hopelessness of attempting to resist, submitted and surrendered their arms. The rifles given up were so few that at first the government believed it was being imposed upon, but after a strict search no more were found, and it was then apparent that Johannesburg had made a bold show without the strength to support it.

Dr. Jameson and all his party were then handed over to the high commissioner, the republican government thus throwing upon Great Britain the unpleasant duty of punishing them. Those of the rank and file who were domiciled in South Africa were released there, and the others were sent to England, where the troopers were set free and the officers were placed upon their trial. Most of them held commissions in Her Majesty's service, of which they were deprived when they were sentenced to various short terms of imprisonment. The sentences were, however, afterwards considerably reduced, and the commissions, except that of Sir John Willoughby, who was the military leader, have long since been restored.

On the 9th and 10th of January sixty-four members of the reform committee were arrested in Johannesburg and committed to prison in Pretoria. The high commissioner was still there, but he did not feel warranted in interfering on their behalf, and on the 14th he left for Capetown. On the 24th of April sixty-three of the prisoners were brought to trial, one being too ill to be produced in court. A special judge named Gregorowski, previously state attorney at Bloemfontein, had been engaged for the occasion. The prisoners pleaded guilty to different counts in the indictment, in the belief that by doing so the

sentences would be light; but they were grievously mistaken, for on the 28th four of them—Colonel Francis Rhodes, and Messrs. Lionel Phillips, John Hays Hammond, and George Farrar—were condemned to death, and all the others to two years' imprisonment, a fine of \$9,600 or another year's imprisonment, and thereafter to banishment for three years. The four sentenced to death were regarded as the most culpable because they had signed an undated letter addressed to Dr. Jameson, inviting him to come to their assistance, though it was understood that he was not to date it or to act upon it until they announced their readiness, which they had never done. As four farmers had been killed and five wounded in the actions with Dr. Jameson's band, these men were held accountable for the bloodshed.

On the following day the government announced that the death sentences would not be carried out, but what other punishment would be inflicted instead was not made known. To men who had been living in luxury the discomforts of a prison were so great that some of them became ill, and one, labouring under anxiety and distress, lost his reason and committed suicide. All South Africa was stirred with compassion for the unfortunate men, and from the towns of the Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, and Natal representations were sent to Pretoria by the heads of the municipalities that in the interests of peace it was necessary to adopt milder measures. The prisoners themselves—with two exceptions—sent in petitions for reduction of their penalties, which led on the 20th of May to the commutation of the four death sentences to imprisonment for fifteen years, of four others to one year's imprison-

ment, of eighteen to five months, of twenty-four to three months, and ten were released, the fines of \$9,600 each, however, to be paid in all cases.

Ten days later the delegates from the towns of the Cape Colony, the Free State, and Natal began to arrive at Pretoria, but before they had an official interview with the government, all the prisoners except Messrs. Rhodes, Farrar, Hammond, Phillips, Wools Sampson, and Karri Davies, were set at liberty upon payment of their fines and binding themselves not to meddle with politics in the South African Republic during the next three years. On the 11th of June Messrs. Rhodes, Farrar, Hammond, and Phillips were released on payment of fines of \$120,000 each, the three last named binding themselves also not to take any part in the politics of the republic for fifteen years. As Colonel Rhodes would not agree to this condition, he was banished instead. Messrs. Sampson and Davies could not bring themselves to petition the government for any favour, so they were detained in prison until the celebration of Her Majesty's jubilee in 1897 gave the president an opportunity to liberate them as a simple act of grace.

This event had wide-spreading effects throughout South Africa. Through it Mr. Rhodes lost the commanding position he had previously occupied, and on the 13th of January, 1896, was succeeded by Sir Gordon Sprigg as prime minister of the Cape Colony. The constitution of Rhodesia was changed, and he ceased to be managing director of the Chartered Company, though his influence in that territory continued to be very great. Passionate feeling everywhere was roused, and the line of variance between Dutch and English was deepened as it had

not been for years before. In the South African Republic ecclesiastical disputes had been so rife that it was even generally believed they might lead to political dissension, but now all sections of the farming population were welded together in one compact body placing the independence of the country and the control of its administration by Dutch-speaking electors far above all other questions.

In the Orange Free State it led public opinion to the closest union with the northern republic for defensive purposes, and upon the retirement of President Reitz through ill-health placed Judge Marthinus Theunis Steyn at the head of the government. The contest at the election was keen, Mr. Steyn, who represented the party desiring alliance with the South African Republic, being opposed by Mr. Fraser, the chairman of the volksraad, who desired to avoid all complications. There was a third candidate, but he was of very little account. At the polls 96 votes were recorded for the Reverend Mr. Van der Lingen, 1,403 for Mr. Fraser, and 7,504 for Mr. Steyn, who on the 4th of March, 1896, took office as president of the Orange Free State.

A frightful disaster occurred at Johannesburg in February, 1896, when by an explosion of dynamite caused by the shunting of some trucks at a railway station a great part of one of the poorest wards was destroyed and over a hundred individuals were killed. So great was the political excitement throughout South Africa, however, that this event soon passed out of remembrance.

The government of President Kruger now set itself to the task of increasing its military strength to prevent the possibility of a successful insurrection in the future. Arms of the latest description were

imported in large quantities, and strong fortresses for the protection of Pretoria and the domination of Johannesburg began to rise. Some efforts were made to conciliate the English residents, but the president and his adherents were firm in their determination not to admit to political power an element that would certainly be hostile to them. On the other hand the English would not be satisfied with anything short of equal privileges with the old burghers, and so the feeling of enmity remained as strong as ever. A law passed in 1897, which gave the executive power to dismiss any judge who should disregard a volksraad resolution, was considered by the English community as destructive of all confidence in justice, though it is difficult to see to what other authority the judges could have been made responsible under a constitution that had always been viewed as flexible. Chief Justice Kotze and Judge Ameshof, who considered their offices degraded, were removed, and Judge Gregorowski, who had tried the reform prisoners and was exceedingly unpopular at Johannesburg, was appointed chief justice.

A little later a commission of inquiry into the conditions of the mining industry was appointed by the government, and after making careful investigation sent in a report recommending nearly all the economical changes that the English companies desired. In other parts of South Africa the excitement had by this time abated, and there seemed to be good hope that everything would at last be settled in such a way that the mining industry would be relieved of all unnecessary burdens, and that the miners would cease to agitate for franchise rights in a country that very few of them thought of making their permanent home.

Meantime President Kruger had proposed that differences between Great Britain and the Republic should be referred to an arbitrator to be appointed by the head of the Swiss confederation, and just at this critical period came a reply from the secretary of state declining that method of settlement on the ground of the suzerainty of Great Britain over the republic making it impossible. This word *suzerainty*, so much detested, and which had not been heard for thirteen years, hardened the president and his party into the most determined conservatism. It was at once repudiated. The efforts to fortify the country and arm the burghers were redoubled, until Pretoria appeared to be the Metz of South Africa, Johannesburg was commanded by a frowning fortress, and vast stores of cannon of the latest type, repeating rifles, and munitions of war of all descriptions were stored in the republican arsenals. An able but very imprudent envoy in the person of Dr. Leyds, previously state secretary, was sent to Europe accredited to all the courts for the purpose of securing as much assistance as possible. Sooner or later, it was firmly believed, the independence of the republic would have to be defended by force of arms, and so preparations were made for the contest.

Was the republic really under the suzerainty of Great Britain? may be asked. The word had been withdrawn by Lord Derby in the convention of London, and it has since been proved that he himself struck out the preamble of the earlier convention of Pretoria in which it occurred, when the relationship of the two countries to each other was defined. That the republic was subordinate to Great Britain to the extent that its treaties with foreign powers except the Orange Free State were subject to approval

was not disputed by President Kruger, though he would have given much to be free from that restraint; but that this constituted suzerainty in substance he denied and those opposed to him maintained. Each reader can judge in this matter for himself, as the words of the convention have been given in a previous chapter.

And so the South African Republic became a strong military state, a position which Great Britain could not regard with indifference, considering her vast interests not only in the southern extremity of the continent but in the interior, and that the armed country lay along the line of rail that Mr. Rhodes had projected from the Cape to Cairo. No one outside of South Africa had imagined that there was so much latent energy and determination in the sons of the sea beggars, who usually presented the appearance of simple slow-going farmers.

The president's five years' term of office expired in 1898, but the new election showed how thoroughly he represented the burghers. He had two opponents, one of whom, Mr. Schalk Burger, represented those who were most favourably inclined towards the English residents and the mining industry. Mr. Kruger received 12,764 votes, Mr. Burger 3,716, and General Joubert 1,943. Thus the illiterate, undaunted old man, whose ideas were those of the seventeenth century, the story of whose life is the story of his country, entered upon his fourth term of office.

The people of Johannesburg were composed of nearly all the nationalities of the world, but a majority of them were British subjects. Most of the others sympathised rather with the republic than with England, but the president did not see that if the

franchise was extended they would constitute a set-off against English voters: he simply desired to keep all foreigners out of the first volksraad in order to avoid strife in that body, and his power was now so great that he could do almost as he chose.

The discontent among the English on the Rand grew apace. During the night of the 18th of December, 1898, a man named Foster was knocked down in a street by another named Edgar, and as he appeared to have been killed some policemen proceeded to Edgar's house close by to arrest him. As the door was fastened it was broken in, and in a scuffle that followed Edgar was shot dead by a policeman of mixed English and Dutch blood, named Jones. Foster died in the hospital, and Jones, who was put upon his trial for manslaughter, was acquitted by a jury on the ground that the shooting of Edgar under the circumstances was justifiable. The republican government has ever since maintained that there was no miscarriage of justice, and that the same thing might have happened in any city of Europe. But it was differently regarded at Johannesburg, where the English asserted that their lives were not safe, and it led to a petition for protection being sent to the Queen with about twenty-one thousand names attached to it.

Correspondence between the two governments followed, but nothing came of it. At length, however, a meeting was arranged to take place at Bloemfontein between President Kruger and Sir Alfred Milner, who on the 5th of May, 1897, had succeeded Lord Rosmead as Her Majesty's high commissioner in South Africa, to see if some amicable settlement could not be reached and the long-standing unrest be done away with. The Orange Free State and the



Afrikaner Bond in the Cape Colony exerted all their influence to induce the president to adopt a conciliatory attitude for the sake of the peace of the country, and pointed out the terrible consequences of an open conflict with Great Britain which would certainly follow if he did not come to terms.

In May, 1899, the conference upon which so much depended took place. The high commissioner demanded the full franchise for all European aliens after five years' residence, and the president, asserting that if he were to concede that he would give away the independence of the republic, declined. So the conference ended, and in every homestead in South Africa it was realised that a supreme crisis in the country's fate had been reached, for Great Britain could not now withdraw.

A ministry having the confidence of the Bond had come into power at the Cape in October, 1898, with Mr. William Philip Schreiner at its head. He and President Steyn redoubled their pressure upon Mr. Kruger, who now began to see that the admission of English members into the volksraad, who would be opposed by other foreigners, might be an evil to him less than war. He therefore introduced a law conferring the franchise after seven years' residence, and it was at once passed. With this Mr. Schreiner and President Steyn expressed themselves satisfied, but the secretary of state was apprehensive that the law might not be as effective as appeared on the surface, and proposed that a joint commission should be appointed to examine whether it really provided efficient representation for the aliens in the state.

Each side was thus deeply suspicious of the other: the secretary of state that the president was not acting in good faith, the president that the secretary of

state was bent upon destroying the independence of the republic. The proposal of a joint commission to examine the new franchise law was most distasteful at Pretoria, because it meant direct interference with the internal administration of the country. A counter proposal was therefore made by Mr. Kruger to give the franchise after five years' residence, as demanded by Sir Alfred Milner, but on the following conditions: that all further interference should cease and the convention of London be strictly adhered to, that the claim of suzerainty should drop, and that thereafter all differences between the two governments should be settled by arbitration. The secretary of state declined to accept this proposal in its entirety, and the president then consented to the joint commission, but was informed in reply that it was too late, the scheme of the joint commission was withdrawn.

While these negotiations were taking place troops were being sent to South Africa, and were massed on the borders of the republics. The Free State became alarmed, but was assured that there was no cause to fear, as the British government had no disagreement whatever with it. At Johannesburg the English residents declared that neither the seven nor the five years' franchise would satisfy them, they must also be armed as well as the farmers, and the forts must be broken down. In England the newspapers with few exceptions were urging the despatch of very large forces to South Africa to overawe the government at Pretoria and so induce Mr. Kruger to accept any demands whatever that might be made upon him. It was supposed that fifty or sixty thousand soldiers could, if necessary, advance upon the republican capital, and like a steam-roller crush

everything before them. But their presence alone would be needed, it was affirmed, to make the obstinate old president submit to anything. In the Cape Colony the unrest and excitement were so great that war itself came afterwards as a relief.

It had been announced by the secretary of state that there were other matters than the franchise to be settled, but what they were or what satisfaction he required was not stated, so that the government at Pretoria came to believe that nothing short of placing itself unconditionally in his hands would suffice to avert hostilities. On the 28th of September he wrote that the British government would lay down the demands which it was prepared to enforce, but this had not been done when on the 7th of October the first reserves were called out in order to send an army corps to South Africa. By the republic this act was regarded as equivalent to a declaration of war, and as the Orange Free State was bound by the terms of its alliance to assist in such a case, it was also so regarded at Bloemfontein. On the 9th an ultimatum was issued at Pretoria, demanding the removal of the British troops from the borders within forty-eight hours, with an undertaking that no more should be landed in South Africa, a proceeding that astonished as well as angered Her Majesty's subjects throughout the empire. A rush of people from Johannesburg to the seaports then took place, and many thousands reached their destination to be dependent upon public charity. On the evening of the 11th of October, 1899, the republican commandos crossed the borders in hope of being able to defeat the British troops in their neighbourhood before assistance could reach them, and the first step was taken in the most deplorable conflict that South Africa has ever known.

The history of this war is to be written by another pen, and in another volume of this series will appear an account of the unanticipated magnitude that it speedily assumed, of the unexampled transport of nearly two hundred thousand fighting men with enormous material of war over six thousand miles of ocean, of the supreme efforts made by those who are fighting for the independence of their countries as well as of those who are fighting for the maintenance of the prestige of the British Empire, of the splendid manner in which the various colonies of that empire sprang to the assistance of the mother land, and of long sieges, disasters, and victories. Let us hope that the time of passion and bloodshed may speedily pass away, and that the restoration of peace and concord in South Africa may be followed by the still closer political union of the states widely severed by land and sea that have shown themselves at heart to be one.

## CHAPTER XLII.

## SOUTH AFRICA AT THE CLOSE OF THE CENTURY.

WHILE this chapter is being written a terrible war is being carried on in the country to which it relates, the loss of life and property has already been appalling, and the fiercest feelings of enmity and hatred have been roused between people who must continue to live together on the same soil, whose interests are identical, and who ought to be as one in face of the great mass of barbarism beyond and among them. It seems almost mockery to write of moral progress in South Africa during the nineteenth century, when at its close Englishmen and Dutchmen, so closely allied in blood and character, are found heaping reproaches upon each other and steeping their hands in each other's gore. This chapter will therefore describe the country, not as it is at this moment, but as it was at the beginning of October, 1899, before the commencement of hostilities, and as we may hope it will be again when through God's mercy peace is restored and happiness and prosperity take the place of misery, devastation, and death.

The whole territory from the Zambesi to Cape Agulhas is now under European dominion, though in some parts—Damaraland, the British Protectorate, the Portuguese Territory, and Basutoland—the white man's authority is more nominal than real. It is politically divided as follows:—

		Square Miles.
BRITISH POSSESSIONS.	Cape Colony..... area	277,151
	Natal..... “	29,434
	Rhodesia..... “	about 175,000
	Basutoland..... “	10,293
	British Protectorate.... “	about 250,000
Total under the British Flag.....		741,878
Orange Free State..... area		48,326
South African Republic “		119,200
German Protectorate... “		about 325,000
Portuguese Territory... “		about 113,000
Total.....		1,347,404

The oversea commerce of the country is shown in the following lists, from which can also be seen its productions and their proportions in value. The exports of the German Protectorate and of the Portuguese Territory are small, and do not need to be referred to in this volume. The imports through Lourenço Marques to the South African Republic are considerable, and those through Beira to Rhodesia are rapidly increasing, but only trade through British ports is given below.

*Articles sent through ports of the Cape Colony to places  
not in South Africa.*

	1898.	1899.
Gold.....	\$ 73,893,322	\$ 66,315,278
Diamonds.....	21,921,106	18,271,896
Sheep's Wool.....	8,479,142	10,482,739
Ostrich Feathers.....	3,593,112	4,041,600
Angora Hair.....	3,108,043	3,743,083
Hides and Skins.....	2,637,216	1,517,722
Copper Ore.....	1,261,584	2,145,528
Guano.....	127,646	—
Preserved and Dried Fish.....	70,430	61,608
Dried Flowers.....	60,706	81,619
Horns.....	60,466	20,227
Wine.....	38,107	92,275
Fruit.....	21,504	31,699
Horses.....	17,760	9,182
Argol.....	12,192	11,914

	1898.	1899.
Aloes.....	\$ 11,112	\$ 14,856
Buchu Leaves.....	9,782	—
Asbestos.....	9,777	—
All other Articles.....	84,203	1,063,278
Total.....	\$115,417,210	\$107,904,504

In 1898 the whole of the gold was sent to the United Kingdom, 98.6 per cent. of the diamonds, and 98.7 per cent. of the other articles. The gold and diamonds exported in 1899 represent only nine months' production, owing to the outbreak of the war.

*Articles sent through Port Natal to places not in South Africa.*

	1898.	1899.
Sheep's Wool.....	\$2,714,299	\$2,921,813
Hides and Skins.....	887,280	312,806
Angora Hair.....	175,416	191,827
Wattle Bark.....	148,459	277,848
Gold.....	195,048	720
Horns.....	34,387	11,016
Total.....	\$4,154,889	\$3,716,030

These figures, however, are a very imperfect representation of the industry of the energetic colony of Natal. Owing to the character of its coast belt a very important part of its produce is tropical, and in consequence much of its commerce is with other parts of South Africa. Its coal fields too are more favourably situated for the distribution of that mineral than are those of the Cape Colony, so that a considerable trade is carried on with it. Very beautiful marble is found within its southern border, and it is anticipated that this article will soon be added to the exports, though this has not yet been the case owing to the difficulty of land carriage. In 1899 there were sent from this colony to other parts of South Africa by sea or supplied to steamers 163,610 tons of coal,

valued at \$744,206, sugar to the value of \$707,942, tea to the value of \$39,821, fruit—chiefly pineapples and bananas—to the value of \$33,461, jams and pickles to the value of \$24,662, and coffee to the value of \$6,472.

The imports of the Cape Colony, exclusive of articles bonded and sent away again, were in value in 1898 \$78,934,267 and in 1899 \$70,266,163. Of these 75.2 per cent. came from Great Britain and other British possessions, and 24.8 per cent. from foreign countries.

The imports of Natal were from

	1898.	1899.
The United Kingdom.....	\$17,820,384	\$16,772,429
Other European Countries.....	2,207,366	2,225,698
America.....	3,158,558	3,205,435
India.....	995,150	1,048,003
Australia.....	793,200	1,435,858
Mauritius.....	33,216	11,933
	<hr/> \$25,007,874	<hr/> \$24,699,356

The Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State, Basutoland, and the British Protectorate are combined in a customs union, in which the tariff is fixed by agreement; each territory receives the duties on goods consumed within it—in the case of those inland minus a charge for collection, and the products of one pass free into any of the others.

Great as has been the expansion of commerce during the century, it has been equalled all over South Africa by the increase in churches, educational establishments, and courts of justice. In this respect the towns and villages are not behind any in Europe or America, though in some of the rural districts there are still many European children ignorant of books, owing to their living on lonely farms. Dur-



ing recent years, however, great efforts have been made to reach this class of the population, not only in the Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, and Natal, but in the South African Republic, and now wherever five children can be got together the governments contribute towards the payment of a teacher.

—The postal service is almost as perfect as it can be made, no village of any importance is unconnected with the telegraph wire, the public roads are kept in good order, railways checker the land, and the coast is well lit. Harbour improvements have been referred to elsewhere. All this has of course necessitated borrowing money, and the public debt of each of the colonies is large, that of the Cape Colony, incurred chiefly for railway construction, being at the beginning of 1899 \$136,242,826, and that of Natal \$38,491,886.

The conservation of water by means of artificial reservoirs in some places and the sinking of artesian wells in others has enabled parts of the country formerly regarded as uninhabitable to be occupied, and has greatly increased the value of land on the upper terraces and the great interior plain. Of late years arboriculture has attracted attention, and in particular the forest department of the Cape government is doing useful work in this direction. Of the foreign trees introduced, the 'Australian gums and willows, which shed their bark but not their leaves annually, thrive wherever there is moisture and sufficient depth of soil, and the oak, the pine, and the poplar of Europe do well in certain localities. The native timber trees are of slow growth compared with any of these.

Large game have almost disappeared from the parts occupied by Europeans over half a century. A

few elephants are preserved by the Cape government in the forest land along the coast east of the Knysna, but the buffalo, the rhinoceros, and the hippopotamus are no longer met with. A few of the larger antelopes and some zebras are protected here and there on farms, and the small carnivora and antelopes are still tolerably abundant in most parts. But in general it may be said that the native animals have given place to the domesticated horse, ass, ox, sheep, and goat, which are more useful in the service of man, if perhaps less picturesque on the plains and hillsides of South Africa.

In nothing is the change between 1800 and 1900 greater than in the systems of government. The murderous rule of the Bantu despot has gone for ever, as even where the tribes are still intact under their chiefs, their power for evil on an extensive scale has been broken. The great progress of late years is due more to the several European communities being free to direct their own affairs in their own way than to all other causes combined, and certainly the native races, whose advancement in civilisation and prosperity must always be an object of the very first importance with the Caucasian settlers in the land, have benefited immensely by the change.

The governments of all the divisions of the country except Natal have already been fully described. That colony since 1893 has enjoyed responsible government, though its constitution is not so liberal as that of the Cape, as its legislative council is composed of nominees, twelve in number, who hold their seats for ten years, half being replaced every five years. The legislative assembly consists of thirty-nine members, who hold their seats for four years. Male British subjects, being Europeans, who own land worth \$240,

or who pay \$48 a year for rent, or who have lived three years in the country and are in receipt of salaries of \$460.80 a year are entitled to vote. Asiatics are excluded, as well as such Bantu as do not possess the above qualifications, and in addition have been by their own desire for seven years exempted from tribal and subject to colonial law. This provision secures equal rights with Europeans for the few who have embraced Christianity and live in a civilised manner, while it withholds from barbarians a privilege of which they are incapable of making proper use. In Natal party feeling does not run so high as in the Cape Colony, as the English settlers are in an overwhelming majority, and race prejudice does not come into play in the legislature.

No census has been taken since 1891, and of recent years such movements of people have been going on that it is difficult to form a calculation that can be relied upon. For some of the territories there is no other guide than a rough conjecture by missionaries or traders. The following figures must therefore be taken merely as an approximation to the truth.

		Europeans.	Bantu and other Blacks.
BRITISH POSSESSIONS.	{ Cape Colony.....	480,000	1,550,000
	{ Natal.....	54,000	862,000
	{ Rhodesia.....	13,000	310,000
	{ Basutoland.....	600	275,000
	{ British Protectorate.	500	200,000
		<hr/> 548,100	<hr/> 3,197,000
	South African Republic.....	220,000	700,000
	Orange Free State....	100,000	160,000
	Portuguese Territory.	6,000	300,000
	German Protectorate.	2,000	250,000
		<hr/> Total.....	<hr/> 4,607,000
		876,100	

To keep the large number of Bantu in order every possible effort is made to treat them justly and kindly, and to interfere with their customs no more than is prudent and necessary for their own good. So far it has always been possible in cases of emergency to oppose one tribe to another, but their old feuds are now rapidly dying out, and this system, even if it were advisable to continue it, can no longer be depended upon. As they are subject to excitement and liable to commit themselves to hostilities without any sufficient reason apparent to Europeans, it is necessary to keep an armed force in readiness to suppress any outbreak before it has time to spread.

For this purpose the Cape Colony maintains a most effective regiment of light cavalry, termed the Cape Mounted Rifles, with its officers one thousand strong, mostly recruited from the middle class of Englishmen, and a force termed the Cape Police, consisting of thirteen hundred Europeans and six hundred native auxiliaries. In addition to these there are seven thousand volunteers of different arms receiving capitation grants from the government, and liable at any time to be called upon to take the field. Last of all, in case of necessity, the whole body of burghers is available.

Natal maintains a mounted police force five hundred strong, and has fifteen hundred and fifty volunteers of different arms, who have on several occasions—as in the rebellion of Langalibalele and the Zulu war—proved themselves a most courageous and effective body of men.

The Chartered Company maintains a strong police force in Rhodesia.

Each of the republics has a small force of trained artillerymen, but otherwise depends solely upon its

burghers. In the Orange Free State the blacks are fewer in proportion to the Europeans than in any other part of South Africa, and as they are generally for people of their class in exceptionally prosperous circumstances, for many years they have given no trouble, nor has any been apprehended from them. It has been different in the South African Republic, where for want of a proper police native tribes have often committed acts that have provoked ruthless retaliation.

The tendency of events during recent years in South Africa has been to produce much greater inequality as far as the possession of property is concerned than existed formerly. As long as any man could obtain a farm by merely applying for it there were no families in a condition of permanent poverty, and at that time no one was very rich. Successful speculation in mining shares has now produced a class of exceedingly wealthy men, and on the other hand great numbers have sunk into indigence through the various cattle plagues, the rise in the value of ground, want of education, and inability to compete in the struggle that is taking place here as everywhere. With poverty has come in many cases loss of energy, joined to aversion to work as labourers for others, so that the class of poor whites is a depressing element in South African society. It is a class too that must be greatly increased by the widespread destruction of property consequent on the present war.

Another unsatisfactory tendency during recent years is in the much greater relative growth of towns than cultivation of land. For a long time practically no agriculturists have arrived in the country from abroad, and many of the old settlers of English blood have abandoned farming and adopted urban life.

The chief towns of the country, of which the population can only be given approximately, are

	Europeans.	Total of all Races.
Johannesburg, S. A. Republic.....	90,000	230,000
Capetown, Cape Colony.....	35,000	72,000
Durban, Natal.....	18,000	40,000
Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.....	13,500	25,500
Kimberley, “.....	12,500	28,500
Pietermaritzburg, Natal....	11,500	20,500
East London, Cape Colony.....	8,000	13,000
Pretoria, S. A. Republic.....	—	12,000
Bloemfontein, Orange Free State.....	7,000	10,000
Grahamstown, Cape Colony.....	6,500	10,500
Paarl, “.....	—	8,000
King-Williamstown “.....	—	7,500
Uitenhage “.....	—	7,000
Klerksdorp, S. A. Republic.....	—	6,000
Graaff-Reinet, Cape Colony.....	—	6,000
Stellenbosch, “.....	—	5,500
Worcester, “.....	—	5,500
Potchefstroom, S. A. Republic.....	—	5,000
Ladysmith, Natal.....	—	4,500
Cradock, Cape Colony.....	—	4,500
Oudtshoorn, “.....	—	4,500
Queenstown, “.....	—	4,000
Buluwayo, Rhodesia.....	—	4,000

South Africa is the land of good hope. Every notable advance that it has made has been preceded by a period of deep depression. God grant that the present—the greatest trouble it has ever known—may be followed by the perfect reconciliation of the two kindred peoples who occupy its soil, by which alone it can attain the highest point of happiness and prosperity.

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# LANDMARKS OF PROGRESS

## DURING THE CENTURY, CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED.

- |              |  |      |   |
|--------------|--|------|---|
| 1800         | European occupation extends north to the Stormberg range and east to the Bushman's river.  |      | court with qualified judges and trial by jury.  |
|              | European population, 26,000. Government purely autocratic. <i>Government Gazette</i> , just established, the only newspaper. Total exports, \$300,000. | 1829 | Opening of the South African College.   |
| 1801         | Exploration of Southern Bechuanaland.  | 1834 | Creation of a mixed official and nominee legislative council.   |
| 1803         | Restoration of the Cape Colony to Holland.   | 1836 | Emancipation of the slaves.   |
| 1805         | First inland posts.  |      | Beginning of the great emigration from the Cape Colony.   |
| 1806         | Conquest of the Cape Colony by Great Britain.  |      | Introduction of municipal government in the towns and villages.   |
| 1809         | All Hottentots made subject to colonial laws.  | 1837 | Ejection of the Matabele from the country south of the Limpopo by the emigrant farmers.                                     |
| 1811         | First military governor of the Cape Colony.  | 1838 | Occupation of Natal by the emigrant farmers.  |
|              | Establishment of circuit courts.   |      | Great improvement in the public school system of the Cape Colony.   |
| 1812         | The Xosas driven beyond the Fish river.  |      | Steamships first employed in the coasting trade.  |
|              | Land tenure greatly improved.  |      | Beginning of production of mohair.  |
| 1814         | Cession of the Cape Colony to Great Britain by the king of the Netherlands.  |      | Rapid increase in production of sheep's wool.   |
| 1817         | Arrival of a few Scotch settlers.  | 1840 | Destruction of the Zulu power.  |
| 1818         | Opening of the South African Public Library.   | 1842 | Conquest of Natal by Great Britain.   |
| 1819         | First occupation by Europeans of ground in the present Orange Free State.  | 1843 | Establishment of elective divisional road boards.   |
| 1820         | Arrival of nearly five thousand British settlers.  | 1846 | Beginning of immigration into the Cape Colony of over four thousand selected British settlers.                              |
| 1823         | Arrival of a few Irish settlers.   | 1847 | Extension of the Cape Colony to the Orange River.   |
| 1823 to 1828 | Suppression of Dutch as the official language of the Cape Colony.  |      | Country between the Fish River and the Kei annexed to the British dominions under the name of British Kaffraria.            |
| 1824         | Construction of the first lighthouse on the coast.   | 1848 | Country between the Orange and Vaal Rivers annexed to the British dominions under the name of the Orange River Sovereignty. |
|              | Settlement at Durban, Natal, of a few Englishmen.  | 1849 | Successful resistance to the introduction of convicts.  |
| 1825         | Creation of an official and nominee council of advice.   | 1852 | Acknowledgment by Great Brit-   |
|              | Destruction of inconvertible paper money previously in use.  |      |   |
| 1828         | Establishment of a supreme   |      |   |

- ain of the independence of the emigrant farmers north of the Vaal.
- First exportation of copper.
- Commencement of sugar planting in Natal.
- 1853 Grant of a liberal constitution to the Cape Colony.
- 1854 Meeting of the first Cape parliament, both chambers elected under a very low franchise. The last of the military governors.
- Abandonment by Great Britain of the Orange River Sovereignty and establishment of the Orange Free State.
- 1856 Establishment of a mixed official and representative legislative council in Natal.
- Beginning of the self-destruction of the Xosas.
- 1858 Settlement of over two thousand German agricultural immigrants in British Kaffraria.
- 1859 Beginning of the construction of railroads in South Africa.
- 1860 Union of all the Europeans north of the Vaal in the South African Republic.
- Opening of the first electric telegraphs.
- Commencement of the great breakwater in Table Bay.
- 1865 Annexation of British Kaffraria to the Cape Colony.
- 1866 Discovery of the first diamond.
- 1868 Entire reversal of the former British policy by the acceptance as British subjects of the Basuto tribe north of the Orange.
- 1869 Commencement of regular diamond-digging industry.
- 1871 Annexation of the territory containing the diamond fields to the British dominions as the crown colony of Griqualand West.
- Dismemberment of the South African Republic by the Keate Award.
- 1872 Introduction of responsible government in the Cape Colony.
- 1877 Annexation of the South African Republic to the British Empire.
- Royal Charter granted to the University of the Cape of Good Hope.
- 1879 Commencement of annexation of the territory between the Kei River and Natal to the Cape Colony.
- 1880 Completion of the annexation of Griqualand West to the Cape Colony.
- 1881 Restoration of semi-independence to the South African Republic.
- 1882 Restoration of Dutch to equality with English as an official language of the Cape Colony.
- 1884 Commencement of the German Protectorate north of the Orange.
- Concession of almost complete independence to the South African Republic.
- 1885 Annexation of territory south of the Molopo to the British Empire as the crown colony of British Bechuanaland.
- Commencement of the British Protectorate north of the Molopo.
- Discovery of valuable goldfields in the South African Republic.
- 1887 Annexation of Zululand to the British Empire.
- 1889 Grant of a charter to the British South Africa Company.
- 1890 Occupation of Mashonaland by the Chartered Company.
- 1893 Occupation of Matabeleland by the Chartered Company.
- Introduction of responsible government in Natal.
- 1894 Completion of annexation of the territory between the Kei River and Natal to the Cape Colony.
- 1895 Annexation of British Bechuanaland to the Cape Colony.
- Annexation of Tongaland to the British Empire.
- Opening of the railway from Capetown to Lourenço Marques.
- 1897 Annexation of Zululand and Tongaland to Natal.
- Opening of the railway from Capetown to Buluwayo.
- 1899 Opening of the railway from Beira to Salisbury.
- 1900 European occupation extends from Cape Agulhas to the Zambesi.
- European population, 876,000.
- Government of the Cape Colony, Natal, and the Orange Free State representative and as free as can be desired, nowhere else entirely autocratic.
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